

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI

XLIII

(March-June 1930)

सत्यमेव जयते

THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION
Ministry of Information and Broadcasting
Government of India

January 1971 (Pausa 1892)

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR, THE PUBLICATIONS DIVISION, NEW DELHI-1
AND PRINTED IN INDIA BY SHANTILAL HARJIVAN SHAH
NAVAJIVAN PRESS, AHMEDABAD-14

PREFACE

This volume (March to June 1930) covers the famous Dandi march and the launching by Gandhiji, under the authority of the Congress, of the Civil Disobedience movement known as Salt Satyagraha, against the background of mass arrests and repression let loose by the Government and large-scale resignations by Indian members from the Central and Provincial Legislatures.

The movement was inaugurated with the historic letter that Gandhiji wrote to the Viceroy on March 2 and sent through Reginald Reynolds, a young Englishman, thus dramatizing what he regarded as the very essence of satyagraha, total absence of ill will towards the opponent. The letter told "the tale of India's ruination" under British rule and invited the Viceroy "to pave the way for immediate removal" of evils such as the terrific pressure of land revenue, liabilities incurred in the name of India and an administration "demonstrably the most expensive in the world", with the Viceroy getting "much over five thousand times India's average income". Should the Viceroy be unable to see his way to deal with these evils, Gandhiji announced his intention to "proceed, with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws," which he considered "the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint".

The movement, Gandhiji was at pains to point out, was directed against the system, not against the Englishman or "any legitimate interest he may have in India". In a *Young India* article he had asserted, "My indictment is not against the English as men, it is against Englishmen as the ruling caste. As men they are as good as we" (p. 265). He handsomely acknowledged the gifts of the British to the Indian people, for example, punctuality, reticence, public hygiene and independent thinking (p. 15). But while British contacts might have had a good moral influence, British rule was nothing but a curse. The Indian struggle for freedom was "designed to free India and also Britain" and he claimed to be a true and wise friend of Britain and an equally true and wise servant of India (p. 54). Even against Indian officials, there was the danger of violence breaking out and Gandhiji warned a follower that the fight was against Dyerism, not Dyer. "We should examine our attitude by putting ourselves this question: 'How would I behave with the officer if he were my own brother?' " (p. 371).

Gandhiji was fully aware of the risk of popular violence in one form or another. He was deterred for long by fear of such violence from embarking on Civil Disobedience. But, though nothing had happened externally, the internal conflict had now ceased and he felt positively certain that the time for Civil Disobedience was ripe (p. 44). "I had no confidence in myself," he told a meeting in Broach. "I was straining my ear to listen to the still small voice within. . . . But suddenly, as in a flash, I saw the light in the Ashram. Self-confidence returned. . . . I feel that now is the time or it will be never" (pp. 125-6). But the struggle was to be "exclusively non-violent", as he had assured a prayer meeting at the Ashram. "The reins of the movement will still remain in the hands of those of my associates who believe in non-violence as an article of faith" (p. 46). True non-violence, he said, was an intensely active force and he wished "to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of the British rule as [against] the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence." And "the victories of truth", he added, "have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character" (p. 6). To the warning, "History will have to repeat itself in India", Gandhiji replied: "Let it repeat itself if it must. I for one must not postpone the movement unless I am to be guilty of the charge of cowardice" (pp. 42-3). Tyranny, he said, generated rage among the victims which remained latent because of their weakness and burst in all its fury on the slightest pretext. "Civil disobedience is a sovereign method of transmuting this undisciplined life-destroying latent energy into disciplined life-saving energy whose use ensures absolute success" (p. 133). The civil resisters struggled both against the violence of the Government and the violence of those among the people who had no faith in non-violence. "Satyagrahis, if they are true to their creed, will either come out victorious or will be ground to atoms between the two mills" (p. 301).

The Viceroy's reply to Gandhiji's appeal was simply an expression of regret that the latter should be contemplating "a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace." "On bended knees I asked for bread and I have received stone instead," Gandhiji commented (p. 51). The Viceroy, he added, "represents a nation that does not easily give in, that does not easily repent. . . . It readily listens to physical force. . . . It will listen also to mute resistless suffering." As regards violation of the law, Gandhiji asserted that "the only law that the nation knows is the will of the Birtish adminis-

trators, the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of a public prison. . . . I repudiate this law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of the compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent" (p. 52).

What distinguished the Civil Disobedience campaign this time from the Non-co-operation movement of 1920-21 was the stress Gandhiji laid on the present occasion on the economic grievances of the masses and the meaning of political freedom for them. "I have," he claimed, "endeavoured to give a new orientation to the national demand," which consisted in "familiarizing the nation with the contents of Independence" (p. 58). Whereas the Non-co-operation movement was launched to secure redress of the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs, this time Gandhiji emphasized the economic, political, cultural and spiritual ruin of the country under British rule and pleaded for immediate relief to the masses from what he described as "the killing weight" of an expensive, top-heavy administration (p. 5). Unless, he argued, "the motive that lies behind the craving for independence" was constantly kept in view, "there is every danger of independence coming to us so changed as to be of no value to those toiling voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking" (p. 4). This seemed all the more necessary because, as Gandhiji was aware, "those who are engaged in the war of independence are not, it is obvious, moved by the economic wrong. *They* do not *feel* it. *They* are moved solely by the moral and spiritual wrong which they feel in every fibre of their being. . . . In their impatience to break through the snaky coil they do not mind what they do so long as they do something, even though it may destroy them" (p. 54).

The thought of the intolerable condition of the masses preyed upon Gandhiji's mind. In Yeravda prison, he did not wish to avail himself fully of the modest monthly allowance of Rs. 100 that the Government had suggested for him. "It is an obsession (if it is to be so called) with me," he said in a letter to the Inspector-General of Prisons, "that we are all living at the expense of the toiling semi-starved millions," and the fact that his food was a costly affair grieved him very much (p. 401). In his prayer speech on the morning of March 12 before the march commenced, he had told the volunteers: "We hope to become the representatives of the poorest of the poor, the lowest of the low and the weakest of the weak." And if they did not have the strength for that, he asked them not to join the struggle (p. 60). The volunteers' rations during the march were strictly regulated and

nobody was to accept more than what the rule permitted (p. 73). At one place during the march Gandhiji rebuked the local workers who had ordered milk to be brought from Surat in a motor-lorry and had provided heavy kerosene burners during their treks at night. He appealed to the local workers to understand his agony and insisted on the volunteers accounting for every pice spent (p. 148). Twice in one issue of *Young India* he repeated: "Accounts should be accurately kept and frequently published. Books should be weekly examined by auditors" (p. 310). "There should be an absolutely accurate and systematic account of all receipts and expenditure. This should be periodically audited" (p. 312).

The popular response to the march was beyond all expectations. On the very first day the route from the Ashram through the outskirts of the city and beyond was lined by vast crowds and the scene, Gandhiji felt, "was the form in which God's blessing descended on me" (p. 84). "Yesterday's demonstration," he told Mirabehn, "was a triumph of non-violence" (p. 65). After the commencement of nation-wide Civil Disobedience from April 6, the people of Gujarat seemed "to have risen in a body as it were" (p. 214). "At present India's self-respect, in fact her all, is symbolized as it were in a handful of salt in the satyagrahi's hand. Let the fist holding it therefore be broken, but let there be no voluntary surrender of the salt" (p. 215). "Whole villages have turned out. I never expected this phenomenal response" (p. 258). It was as though, as Gandhiji told Mahadev Desai, his very thoughts had grown wings and seemed to have effect even when not expressed in speech or action (p. 216). Later, commenting on Mahadev Desai's conviction, Gandhiji recognized the spontaneous and self-sustaining strength of the movement. It was a happy sign that heroes and heroic actions had become common and went unnoticed, like "myriads of sunbeams each as important as the sun itself" (p. 359). Quoting with approval Sir Martin Conway's dictum "it is in crowds that ideals reside . . . upon crowds our spiritual life depends", Gandhiji added, "If non-violence could not affect masses of mankind, it is a waste of effort for individuals to cultivate it. I hold it to be the greatest gift of God. And all God's gifts are the common heritage of His creation and not a monopoly of cloistered monks or nuns" (pp. 308-9).

The most remarkable aspect of this national awakening was the eagerness of women to join the struggle. But Gandhiji dissuaded them from participating in actual breaking of the salt law, or at any rate from deliberately joining crowds which they knew

were likely to be charged. "For women to be in the midst of such danger. . . was against the rule of chivalry," he said (p. 269). "Just as Hindus do not harm a cow," he had explained to the Ashram women, "the British do not attack women as far as possible. For Hindus it would be cowardice to take a cow to the battle-field. In the same way it would be cowardice for us to have women accompany us" on the march (pp. 12-3). "In this non-violent warfare," Gandhiji said, "their contribution should be much greater than men's," for they were immeasurably superior to men, if by strength was meant not brute strength but moral power. For them to confine themselves to the campaign against the salt tax "would be to change a pound for a penny" (p. 219). He wanted them, instead, to take up picketing of liquor shops and foreign-cloth shops. "Drink and drugs sap the moral well-being of those who are given to the habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundation of the nation and throws millions out of employment". By taking up the boycott of these two, therefore, women would contribute more than men to national freedom (p. 220). Accordingly Gandhiji called a conference of women workers on April 13 at which a committee was set up to organize the work of picketing. Encouraging women to shed fear and gain confidence to take up this special task of picketing liquor shops, Gandhiji wrote: "Rama and Ravana dwell in every human being. If women would act through the Rama who is in them, the Ravana who dwells in man would be powerless. Rama awakens less readily in men than in women. Who can harm one who is protected by Rama? Who can protect one with whom Rama is displeased?" (pp. 272-3).

Gandhiji attached so much importance to the boycott of foreign cloth and its replacement by khadi that in every village on the route he enquired in detail about the progress of khadi and exhorted people to start spinning so as to accelerate the manufacture of khadi to meet the increased demand. Writing to Jerajani, a khadi worker of Bombay, he suggested that it should be made known that khadi would be sold not for money, but only against hand-spun yarn. This was, he said, "the only way to make it clear to people that khadi is not a mere commodity, . . . but . . . a symbol of the nation's strength and aspiration" (p. 305).

In this countrywide awakening brought about by the launching of the Civil Disobedience campaign a discordant note was struck by some Muslim leaders, especially Maulana Shaukat Ali, who alleged that the movement was not for swaraj but for Hindu Raj and against Mussalmans. Gandhiji pointed out, in

reply, that Civil Disobedience was "a process of developing internal strength and therefore an organic growth," and invited the Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis and others to join the struggle (p. 56). To the Maulana's personal attack on him, Gandhiji replied: "I am the same little man that I used to be in 1921. I can never be an enemy of Mussalmans, no matter what any one or more of them may do to me or mine . . . " (p. 57). But an even more convincing reply was the nomination of Abbas Tyabji and Imam Bawazeer as "dictators" or "first servants" of the movement.

The Government displayed admirable forbearance during the march, for which Gandhiji publicly complimented it (p. 179). But he was not sure whether it would tolerate the actual breach of the salt laws. His fears were proved true by the events. From the very first day of the commencement of Civil Disobedience, the police resorted to force to seize the contraband salt from the satyagrahis. "Salt in the hands of satyagrahis," Gandhiji asserted, "represents the honour of the nation. It cannot be yielded up except to force that will break the hand to pieces" (p. 205). The Government answered the satyagrahis' determination with increasing employment of physical force to break their morale, especially after the outbreak of sporadic violence in Karachi, Calcutta, Peshawar and Chittagong. Gandhiji deplored these outbreaks, saying that popular violence was as much an obstruction in the country's path as Government violence, but he refused to stop the struggle because of them. The Government's repression soon assumed proportions which provoked Gandhiji to describe it as "Goonda Raj" (p. 361). He called upon the people to "answer this organized hooliganism with great suffering" (p. 363). Recounting the police brutalities in a letter which he addressed to the Viceroy on May 4, he said: "Before, then, the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel that I must take a bolder step, and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner if more drastic channel." He also added that if, in spite of his repeated warnings, people resorted to violence, "I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being." History, he said, would "pronounce the verdict that the British Government, not bearing because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand and deal with" (p. 392).

On the midnight of May 5, Gandhiji was arrested and removed to Yeravda jail to be detained there under Regulation 25 of 1827, to "suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Govern-

ment" (p. 399). Once in jail, he left the problems of the movement behind him and became absorbed in the new routine of jail life in the spirit of *anasakti*, non-attachment, which he had learnt from the *Gita*. "I have been quite happy and have been making up for arrears of rest," he said in the very first letter, to Mirabehn, that he wrote from jail (p. 402). In the letter to Narandas on the same day (12-5-1930), Gandhiji described in some detail the new routine and gave him information about his health. This relaxation from the long tension is seen at its finest in the letter that he wrote to the Ashram children, teaching little birds how to fly without wings (p. 406). In a letter to Gangabehn Vaidya a few days later, he said: "I remember every day all the women and the children, but I do not worry about anything. Here, too, I keep myself busy and do not remain unoccupied even for a minute. That way alone can I have peace of mind. I can see God only through work" (p. 413).

Above all Gandhiji felt no bitterness whatsoever against the Viceroy for the measures the Government was adopting to crush the movement. But he reminded him, in a letter written from jail, of "the simple fact that disobedience ceases to be such immediately masses of people resort to it" (p. 411). This was satyagraha at its classic best. As Gandhiji had explained in a *Navajivan* article, "God is present in all of us. . . . though many we are all one. . . . the sin of one is the sin of all. And hence it is not up to us to destroy the evil-doer. We should, on the contrary, suffer for him. . . . The satyagrahi always acts in the spirit of atonement. . . . He regards himself also as a sinner" (pp. 82-3).

The prevailing mood of the period, which is religious rather than political, is well brought out in a critical but self-revealing communication to Mahadev Desai: "Who knows where I myself may be going wrong? . . . My thinking nowadays takes the form exclusively of prayer. I do not use my reason, but look into my heart. . . . The truth is that even the Government does not know where it stands and what it wants to do. What is happening is something quite new for it and for the whole world" (pp. 321-2).

NOTE TO THE READER

In reproducing English material, every endeavour has been made to adhere strictly to the original. Obvious typographical errors have been corrected and words abbreviated in the text generally spelt out. Variant spellings of names have, however, been retained as in the original.

Matter in square brackets has been supplied by the Editors. Quoted passages, where these are in English, have been set up in small type and printed with an indent. Indirect reports of speeches and interviews, as also passages which are not by Gandhiji, have been set up in small type. In reports of speeches and interviews slight changes and omissions, where necessary, have been made in passages not attributed to Gandhiji.

While translating from Gujarati and Hindi, efforts have been made to achieve fidelity and also readability in English. Where English translations are available, they have been used with such changes as were necessary to bring them into conformity with the original.

The date of an item has been indicated at the top right-hand corner; if the original is undated, the inferred date is supplied within square brackets, the reasons being given where necessary. The date given at the end of an item alongside the source is that of publication. The writings are placed under the date of publication, except where they carry a dateline or where the date of writing has special significance and is ascertainable.

References to Volume I of this series are to the January 1969 edition.

In the source-line, the symbol S.N. stands for documents available in the Sabarmati Sangrahalaya, Ahmedabad; G.N. refers to documents and M. M. U. to the reels of the Mobile Microfilm Unit available in the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, New Delhi; C.W. denotes documents secured by the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi.

The Appendices provide background material relevant to the text. A list of sources and a chronology for the period covered by the volume are also provided at the end.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For material in this volume, we are indebted to the Sabarmati Ashram Preservation and Memorial Trust and Sangrahalaya, the Navajivan Trust and the Gujarat Vidyapith Granthalaya, Ahmedabad; the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi and Sangrahalaya, the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi; Swarthmore College, Philadelphia; Allahabad Municipal Museum; Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli; Shri Narandas Gandhi, Rajkot; Smt. Mirabehn, Gaaden, Austria; Smt. Gangabehn Vaidya, Bochasan; Smt. Sita Devi, Calcutta; Shri Shantikumar Morarjee, Bombay; Smt. Premabehn Kantak, Saswad; Shri G. D. Birla, Calcutta; Shri Benarsilal Bazaj, Varanasi; Shri Fulchand Shah, Surendranagar; Shri Jairamdas Doulatram, New Delhi; Shri K. M. Munshi; Shri Jamnadas Gandhi, Rajkot; Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya, Ajmer; Shri A. Subba Rao, Rajaram, Godavari Dist.; Smt. Vasumati Pandit, Surat; Shri Hamid Qureshi, Ahmedabad; Smt. Sushilabehn Gandhi, Phœnix, Durban; Smt. Radhabehn Chaudhri, New Delhi; Smt. Premlila Thackersey, Poona; Shri Munnalal, Sevagram; the publishers of the books, *Ashram Samachar*, *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi*, *Bapuki Virat Vatsalata*, *Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne*, *Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne*, *Bapuna Patro–9: Narandas Gandhine*, *Bapuna Patro–5: Premabehn Kantakne*, *A Bunch of Old Letters*, *Public Finance and Our Poverty*, *Speeches & Writings of Mahatma Gandhi* and the following newspapers and journals: *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, *The Bombay Chronicle*, *Gujarati*, *The Hindu*, *The Leader*, *Liberty*, *Modern Review*, *Navajivan*, *Prajabandhu* and *Young India*.

For research and reference facilities, we owe thanks to the All-India Congress Committee Library, the Indian Council of World Affairs Library, the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and Shri Pyarelal Nayyar, New Delhi; and for assistance in photo-printing documents to the Photo Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *THAKKAR BAPA'S BEGGING-BOWL*

What shall I add to the details[1] below, which Thakkar Bapa has sent? Even if there should be war trumpets blowing, even if conditions should be hard, for such public good and at the instance of this aged worker, the rich will certainly loosen their purse-strings. The next donor should be a Jugal Kishore Birla not of Marwar but of Gujarat. That will be to the glory of Gujarat.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-3-1930

2. *TWO LETTERS*

A young man writes:[2]

Not all parents are like this. Here is a letter[3] that a mother wrote to her son at the Gujarat Vidyapith, who was wanting to join the satyagraha movement.

This mother deserves congratulations. If India has many such mothers, our struggle will end successfully and quickly. Fortunately, the number of such parents is well on the increase. There are two well-to-do girls whose parents, too, have given them full encouragement and put no restrictions on their self-disciplined freedom. I have intentionally used here the adjective "self-disciplined" before "freedom" to suggest that freedom can be either self-disciplined or self-willed.

Where there is opposition to one's good intentions, as in the case of this young man, from one's father or teacher, one should, if one is an adult son or daughter over sixteen years of age, first humbly try to persuade the elders concerned, and then respectfully

[1] Concerning expenditure incurred on digging 49 wells for untouchables, out of funds donated by Jugal Kishore Birla, and giving a list of 37 villages where work had to be suspended for lack of funds

[2] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had complained that guardians discouraged the patriotic urges of their wards. He had also referred to his khadi-wearing father using a foreign thermos flask.

[3] Not translated here. It complimented the son on his eagerness to court arrest.

disobey their order or their will. That is the clear duty of the son or the daughter in a situation like this. If the son's description of his father in the letter above is true and if the latter recognizes himself as the father referred to, I would request him to honour the khadi he wears, give his blessings to the son and encourage him in his idea of self-sacrifice. The father should also discard both tea and the thermos. Tea is never a necessity of life, and a thing like a thermos has no place in his poor home. I have no prejudice against such foreign articles as are needed for maintaining one's health or for similar uses. However, to decide what is essential is a matter to which considerable thought should always be given. It is not enough to wear khadi. The wearer should also realize that khadi symbolizes the spirit of patriotism and modesty. Wearing khadi does not give one the licence to enjoy all kinds of liberty, but is the first step in the direction of self-restraint and a sign of our desire to curtail other unnecessary freedoms. I shall show here a cheap, indigenous way of preserving the temperature of hot water or any similar drink. If hot water or a similar drink is put in a vessel that can be closed tight, and if the vessel is then wrapped up on all sides in a woollen blanket or in cotton and kept inside a chest or box, the drink will preserve its temperature for twenty-four hours.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 2-3-1930

3. *LETTER TO LORD IRWIN*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 2, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

Before embarking on civil disobedience and taking the risk I have dreaded to take all these years, I would fain approach you and find a way out.

My personal faith is absolutely clear. I cannot intentionally hurt anything that lives, much less fellow human beings, even though they may do the greatest wrong to me and mine. Whilst, therefore, I hold the British rule to be a curse, I do not intend harm to a single Englishman or to any legitimate interest he may have in India.

I must not be misunderstood. Though I hold the British rule in India to be a curse, I do not, therefore, consider Englishmen

in general to be worse than any other people on earth. I have the privilege of claiming many Englishmen as dearest friends. Indeed much that I have learnt of the evil of British rule is due to the writings of frank and courageous Englishmen who have not hesitated to tell the unpalatable truth about that rule.

And why do I regard the British rule as a curse?

It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation and by a ruinously expensive military and civil administration which the country can never afford.

It has reduced us politically to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our culture. And, by the policy of cruel disarmament, it has degraded us spiritually. Lacking the inward strength, we have been reduced, by all but universal disarmament, to a state bordering on cowardly helplessness.

In common with many of my countrymen, I had hugged the fond hope that the proposed Round Table Conference might furnish a solution. But, when you said plainly that you could not give any assurance that you or the British Cabinet would pledge yourselves to support a scheme of full Dominion Status, the Round Table Conference could not possibly furnish the solution for which vocal India is consciously, and the dumb millions are unconsciously, thirsting. Needless to say there never was any question of Parliament's verdict being anticipated. Instances are not wanting of the British Cabinet, in anticipation of the Parliamentary verdict, having pledged itself to a particular policy.

The Delhi interview[1] having miscarried, there was no option for Pandit Motilal Nehru and me but to take steps to carry out the solemn resolution of the Congress arrived at in Calcutta at its Session in 1928.[2]

But the Resolution of Independence[3] should cause no alarm, if the word Dominion Status mentioned in your announcement had been used in its accepted sense. For, has it not been admitted by responsible British statesmen that Dominion Status is virtual Independence? What, however, I fear is that there never has been any intention of granting such Dominion Status to India in the immediate future.

But this is all past history. Since the announcement many events have happened which show unmistakably the trend of British policy.

[1] Which took place on December 23, 1929; *vide* Vol. XLII.

[2] *Vide* Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 267-9.

[3] The resolution referred to is the Congress resolution passed at Lahore in 1929. *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 324-6.

It seems as clear as daylight that responsible British statesmen do not contemplate any alteration in British policy that might adversely affect Britain's commerce with India or require an impartial and close scrutiny of Britain's transactions with India. If nothing is done to end the process of exploitation India must be bled with an ever increasing speed. The Finance Member regards as a settled fact the 1/6 ratio which by a stroke of the pen drains India of a few crores. And when a serious attempt is being made through a civil form of direct action, to unsettle this fact, among many others, even you cannot help appealing to the wealthy landed classes to help you to crush that attempt in the name of an order that grinds India to atoms.

Unless those who work in the name of the nation understand and keep before all concerned the motive that lies behind the craving for independence, there is every danger of independence coming to us so changed as to be of no value to those toiling voiceless millions for whom it is sought and for whom it is worth taking. It is for that reason that I have been recently telling the public what independence should really mean.

Let me put before you some of the salient points.

The terrific pressure of land revenue, which furnishes a large part of the total, must undergo considerable modification in an independent India. Even the much vaunted permanent settlement benefits the few rich zamindars, not the ryots. The ryot has remained as helpless as ever. He is a mere tenant at will. Not only, then, has the land revenue to be considerably reduced, but the whole revenue system has to be so revised as to make the ryot's good its primary concern. But the British system seems to be designed to crush the very life out of him. Even the salt he must use to live is so taxed as to make the burden fall heaviest on him, if only because of the heartless impartiality of its incidence. The tax shows itself still more burdensome on the poor man when it is remembered that salt is the one thing he must eat more than the rich man both individually and collectively. The drink and drug revenue, too, is derived from the poor. It saps the foundations both of their health and morals. It is defended under the false plea of individual freedom, but, in reality, is maintained for its own sake. The ingenuity of the authors of the reforms of 1919 transferred this revenue to the so-called responsible part of dyarchy, so as to throw the burden of prohibition on it, thus, from the very beginning, rendering it powerless for good. If the unhappy minister wipes out this revenue he must starve education, since in the existing circumstances he has no new source

of replacing that revenue. If the weight of taxation has crushed the poor from above, the destruction of the central supplementary industry, i.e., hand-spinning, has undermined their capacity for producing wealth. The tale of India's ruination is not complete without reference to the liabilities incurred in her name. Sufficient has been recently said about these in the public Press. It must be the duty of a free India to subject all the liabilities to the strictest investigation, and repudiate those that may be adjudged by an impartial tribunal to be unjust and unfair.

The iniquities sampled above are maintained in order to carry on a foreign administration, demonstrably the most expensive in the world. Take your own salary. It is over Rs. 21,000 per month, besides many other indirect additions. The British Prime Minister gets £ 5,000 per year, i.e., over Rs. 5,400 per month at the present rate of exchange. You are getting over Rs. 700 per day against India's average income of less than annas 2 per day. The Prime Minister gets Rs. 180 per day against Great Britain's average income of nearly Rs. 2 per day. Thus you are getting much over five thousand times India's average income. The British Prime Minister is getting only ninety times Britain's average income. On bended knees I ask you to ponder over this phenomenon. I have taken a personal illustration to drive home a painful truth. I have too great a regard for you as a man to wish to hurt your feelings. I know that you do not need the salary you get. Probably the whole of your salary goes for charity. But a system that provides for such an arrangement deserves to be summarily scrapped. What is true of the Viceregal salary is true generally of the whole administration.

A radical cutting down of the revenue, therefore, depends upon an equally radical reduction in the expenses of the administration. This means a transformation of the scheme of government. This transformation is impossible without independence. Hence, in my opinion, the spontaneous demonstration of 26th January, in which hundreds of thousands of villagers instinctively participated. To them independence means deliverance from the killing weight.

Not one of the great British political parties, it seems to me, is prepared to give up the Indian spoils to which Great Britain helps herself from day to day, often, in spite of the unanimous opposition of Indian opinion.

Nevertheless, if India is to live as a nation, if the slow death by starvation of her people is to stop, some remedy must be found for immediate relief. The proposed Conference is certainly not the remedy. It is not a matter of carrying conviction by

argument. The matter resolves itself into one of matching forces. Conviction or no conviction, Great Britain would defend her Indian commerce and interests by all the forces at her command. India must consequently evolve force enough to free herself from that embrace of death.

It is common cause that, however disorganized and, for the time being, insignificant it may be, the party of violence is gaining ground and making itself felt. Its end is the same as mine. But I am convinced that it cannot bring the desired relief to the dumb millions. And the conviction is growing deeper and deeper in me that nothing but unadulterated non-violence can check the organized violence of the British Government. Many think that non-violence is not an active force. My experience, limited though it undoubtedly is, shows that non-violence can be an intensely active force. It is my purpose to set in motion that force as well against the organized violent force of the British rule as [against] the unorganized violent force of the growing party of violence. To sit still would be to give rein to both the forces above mentioned. Having an unquestioning and immovable faith in the efficacy of non-violence as I know it, it would be sinful on my part to wait any longer.

This non-violence will be expressed through civil disobedience, for the moment confined to the inmates of the Satyagraha Ashram, but ultimately designed to cover all those who choose to join the movement with its obvious limitations.

I know that in embarking on non-violence I shall be running what might fairly be termed a mad risk. But the victories of truth have never been won without risks, often of the gravest character. Conversion of a nation that has consciously or unconsciously preyed upon another, far more numerous, far more ancient and no less cultured than itself, is worth any amount of risk.

I have deliberately used the word "conversion". For my ambition is no less than to convert the British people through non-violence, and thus make them see the wrong they have done to India. I do not seek to harm your people. I want to serve them even as I want to serve my own. I believe that I have always served them. I served them up to 1919 blindly. But when my eyes were opened and I conceived non-co-operation, the object still was to serve them. I employed the same weapon that I have in all humility successfully used against the dearest members of my family. If I have equal love for your people with mine it will not long remain hidden. It will be acknowledged by them even

as the members of my family acknowledged it after they had tried me for several years. If the people join me as I expect they will, the sufferings they will undergo, unless the British nation sooner retraces its steps, will be enough to melt the stoniest hearts.

The plan through civil disobedience will be to combat such evils as I have sampled out. If we want to sever the British connection it is because of such evils. When they are removed the path becomes easy. Then the way to friendly negotiation will be open. If the British commerce with India is purified of greed, you will have no difficulty in recognizing our independence. I respectfully invite you then to pave the way for immediate removal of those evils, and thus open a way for a real conference between equals, interested only in promoting the common good of mankind through voluntary fellowship and in arranging terms of mutual help and commerce equally suited to both. You have unnecessarily laid stress upon the communal problems that unhappily affect this land. Important though they undoubtedly are for the consideration of any scheme of government, they have little bearing on the greater problems which are above communities and which affect them all equally. But if you cannot see your way to deal with these evils and my letter makes no appeal to your heart, on the 11th day of this month,[1] I shall proceed with such co-workers of the Ashram as I can take, to disregard the provisions of the salt laws. I regard this tax to be the most iniquitous of all from the poor man's standpoint. As the independence movement is essentially for the poorest in the land the beginning will be made with this evil. The wonder is that we have submitted to the cruel monopoly for so long. It is, I know, open to you to frustrate my design by arresting me. I hope that there will be tens of thousands ready, in a disciplined manner, to take up the work after me, and, in the act of disobeying the Salt Act to lay themselves open to the penalties of a law that should never have disfigured the Statute-book.

I have no desire to cause you unnecessary embarrassment, or any at all, so far as I can help. If you think that there is any substance in my letter, and if you will care to discuss matters with me, and if to that end you would like me to postpone publication of this letter, I shall gladly refrain on receipt of a telegram to that effect soon after this reaches you.[2] You will, however, do

[1] The march, however, started on March 12.

[2] The Viceroy's reply was simply an expression of regret that Gandhiji should be "contemplating a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace".

me the favour not to deflect me from my course unless you can see your way to conform to the substance of this letter.

This letter is not in any way intended as a threat but is a simple and sacred duty peremptory on a civil resister. Therefore I am having it specially delivered by a young English friend who believes in the Indian cause and is a full believer in non-violence and whom Providence seems to have sent to me, as it were, for the very purpose.[1]

I remain,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

H. E. LORD IRWIN
VICEROY'S HOUSE
NEW DELHI-3

Young India, 12-3-1930; also S.N. 16624

4. *SPEECH AT WEDDING[2], SABARMATI ASHRAM*

March 2, 1930

Whenever a wedding is arranged through the Ashram, I say a few words while offering my blessings. On this occasion again I wish to express the hope which I expressed on the occasion of the marriage of Shri Shankarlal and Umiya.

Bhai Benarsi, I have a right to hope for much from you. I have been very happy to observe your humility and your religious devotion. I hope that you will devote yourself to national work to the best of your ability and inspire Rukmini to do likewise. Try to understand fully the meaning of the *saptapadi* vow and preserve it in practice in your life. In this vow, the bride and the bridegroom promise to be each other's friends; but their friendship is real only if they try to remedy each other's defects and to strengthen their own virtues. The cause of the attachment and aversion we see in the world is people's habit of observing one another's defects. Those whose only aim is enjoyment in life

[1] Reginald Reynolds who took the letter to the Viceroy, referring to it in *To Live in Mankind*, observes: "Before I went Gandhi insisted I should read the letter carefully, as he did not wish me to associate myself with it unless I was in complete agreement with its contents. My taking of this letter was, in fact, intended to be symbolic of the fact that this was not merely a struggle between the Indians and the British. . . ." *Vide* also "About That Letter", pp. 14-6.

[2] Of Benarsilal Bazaj and Rukmini, daughter of Maganlal Gandhi

are bound to be filled with such feelings. I should, therefore, like to see a bond of friendship between husband and wife, instead of one of sensual enjoyment. I know that it is difficult to cultivate such a relationship, but nothing is too difficult for determined effort. The vow requires the bride to say that the bridegroom is her guru and her god. I had wanted this time to alter the vow in this regard, but refrained from doing so for fear that that might confuse people's minds. I intend to omit the words 'guru' and 'god' in future, because it is not right that a husband should regard himself as a guru or god. Anyone who serves another does become a guru or god without his claiming to be one. This, however, does not mean that today's vow is not binding. Rukmini has accepted you as her guru and god, understanding quite well the meaning of the vow. You should, therefore, be worthy of her trust. Take care of her as you would of a flower. Tolerate the differences in outlook and manners which may arise from the fact of you two belonging to different provinces. May the bond between Marwar and Gujarat which has been formed grow and bear happy fruit. May your relationship become an ideal for others.

Rukhi, the choice of Benarsi was not mine; it was Maganlal's. I have only tried to be worthy of his legacy. You should fulfil the hope which Maganlal had cherished about you. You know that his entire life was dedicated to service. I have occupied the seat left vacant by him in the hope that his virtues may grow in me. You know my views. Follow them and so live your life that you will win praise for your father and grandfather. My ambition for you is that your mother-in-law and others should never detect a trace of selfishness in you, and that you will do nothing of which I, Khushalbhai, Devbhabhi or Santok need feel ashamed. I would be pained if you should be guilty of a single act which would make us feel ashamed of you. People will admire you if you exercise self-control even in your enjoyments. Let self-control be your aim in all that you enjoy. We obey the instincts of our nature and do certain things. For instance, music at the time of prayers is a form of enjoyment, for the experience of sweetness is a pleasure. But we wish to learn renunciation through this enjoyment. Similarly, married life is a form of enjoyment but we should know that the aim behind it is self-control. Our enjoyment is for the purpose of overcoming the desire for enjoyment. You have been learning this lesson from the time that we were in South Africa. Always serve others. Let Benarsi not repent having married a Gujarati girl, and one brought up in the Ashram. Even if he does not have virtues which would make him

worthy of being regarded by you as a guru or god, you should be a woman of such ideal character that he may acquire those virtues. My sincere blessings to you both for a long life.

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 9296

5. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

Monday, 3.45 a.m. [*March 3, 1930*][1]

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I was expecting your letter. I was relieved to learn from Chhaganlal and Kashibehn that your fever had gone down.

If you can digest milk with ghee added to it, do take it. It would be all right too if a little milk taken with chapati can sustain you. The finding of vaidyas is that those who find milk constipating are bound to find other things excepting fruit constipating, too. But there is no need of other things. Take whatever relieves you.

Now, for Delhi. Send a telegram restraining your brother and mother from coming over. Tell them there is no likelihood of your going to jail now, and that they must not interfere in your activities. If, in spite of this, they do come, remain firm and say courteously that they must give up all hope of exerting pressure upon you. Bear with their suffering. A time will come when they will be reconciled.

Mahadev has not gone to Delhi. Reynolds has taken the letter.

Blessings from

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2375

6. *LETTER TO MANMOHANDAS P. GANDHI*

March 3, 1930

BHAISHRI MANMOHANDAS,

I got both the books sent by you. You already see that I have been using the book on the subject of salt. If you have this further information, send it to me; if you don't have it, please get it for me. What is the expenditure incurred on the collection of the salt tax? Some say it is eight per cent and some that it is

[1] The date is inferred from the reference to the letter to Lord Irwin, which was delivered by Reginald Reynolds.

twenty per cent. Compare the percentage of expenditure on this tax with the percentage of expenditure on other taxes.

If you have a copy of the latest Administration Report on salt, send it to me. If you have no spare copy, I will return it to you.

Send me any other information which you think will be useful to me.

Now about your book on cotton. I have been reading it. But I may point out two errors just now. You say that formerly weaving and spinning were probably independent professions and not subsidiary occupations. Weaving and spinning are two independent activities. Weaving was (chiefly) an independent profession and is so even today. That spinning, on the other hand, has always been (chiefly) a subsidiary occupation we can prove with thousands of instances even today. The individuals were alive when the movement for the revival of spinning started in 1919. This is an important distinction, and so you must have seen that your error is a serious one. This error will continue to be made in the absence of personal knowledge of the facts. Even writers who have gone deeper than you have committed it. But that defence will not serve an humble student. The second error is this. Writing about the Mogul period you say that there were then such frequent and widespread massacres that no profession could flourish. There are two errors in this view. Such massacres were never widespread. Before Akbar, no Muslim ruler had entered villages. The massacres always took place in cities and there, too, they had little effect on the artisan classes. Even today we see these classes going on with their occupations under this anarchical rule. Formerly, the government touched the lives of only those who were connected with the administrative machinery. It is only in the present age that governments have become eager to extend their grip over entire populations. And, among them all, the British Government has acquired the utmost efficiency in this. It is this efficiency which is ruining us, for British rule is inspired by no philanthropic motives.

I found some time in the morning to write this, for I expect you to make a valuable contribution to the cause.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6

7. *LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 5, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I must dictate this letter or not write to you at all.

Whilst you are at liberty to use or not to use anything you like, I think the position taken up by Father and Mother is unassailable. They are the rulers of the household. You may make gentle suggestions but you may not resent their dispositions. Nobler parents no one can desire. It is enough that you do not make use of Western facilities and contrivances wherever it is possible for you to avoid them. By being strict with yourself and charitable towards your surroundings you can affect them as in no other way.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9615

8. *REMARKS AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM*

March 5, 1930

The campaign will start on the morning of the twelfth, and, therefore, all joining me have to get ready in five days. You should not worry about food or water. Let us put our trust in God and we shall have everything.

We shall march in the direction of Pethapur.[1] A horse will accompany us, and if I am not well I shall ride it. I shall be marching with Shri Abbas Tyabji and a batch of fifty. Let everyone have a copy of the *Bhagavad Gita* with him. In the jail too, if it should be necessary, we shall offer civil disobedience. Only men will accompany us. Women and others will stay in the Ashram.

Women will have enough opportunity to offer satyagraha.[2] Just as Hindus do not harm a cow, the British do not attack women

[1] Gandhiji said this in answer to a boy's question about the place to which they were to march.

[2] It had been suggested that four or five women might be allowed to go along.

as far as possible. For Hindus it would be cowardice to take a cow to the battlefield. In the same way it would be cowardice for us to have women accompany us. In the coming struggle, even children might get killed. Knowing this, if we take children with us it would be sheer folly.

I wish the struggle to come to an end in a month or so, but it may continue longer.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 9-3-1930

9. *LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI*

March 5/6[1], *1930*

BHAISHRI JERAJANI,

I have your letter. You may go to any place which Shankerlal may ask you to visit. Don't think it necessary to obtain my permission in such matters. When I need you, I will call you from wherever you are.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9769

10. *PENAL SECTIONS OF THE SALT ACT*

The following sections[2] copied or abridged from the Bombay Salt Act and the Indian Salt Act will show the design underlying their operation. The Bombay Act is a refined reproduction of the India Act of 1882. Most of the penal sections of the Bombay Act show a stiffening of the original which evidently experience of administration had shown to be necessary. Only one section has been taken from the central Act. The reader will not fail to notice a strange section which makes "cowardice" on the part of the salt-revenue officers a crime punishable with imprisonment extending to three months. The word "cowardice" is not defined. But the reader with an imagination will have no difficulty in understanding what cowardice can possibly mean in the

[1] The letter was dictated on the 5th and signed by Gandhiji on the 6th.
[2] *Vide* Appendix I.

administration of an Act which takes in its sweep millions of human beings, men and women, young and old, cripples and healthy.

Young India, 6-3-1930

11. PUBLIC DEBT ANALYSED

Sjt. Haridas Muzumdar has prepared a note on Public Debt. I give below the following condensation[1] which will assist the reader to know what this debt is.

Young India, 6-3-1930

12. ABOUT THAT LETTER

My letter to the Viceroy went on the 2nd instant as anticipated by the newspapers. Forecasts have been published of its contents which are largely untrue. I wish these correspondents and the news agencies will, instead of making the publication of news a matter merely of making money, think of the public good. If there had been anything to give to the public, surely Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would have given it. But it was thought advisable to wait for an acknowledgment from Delhi before publishing the letter. I am not intent on a fight. I am leaving no stone unturned to avoid it. But I am ready for it the moment I find that there is no honourable way out of it. Premature publication of news indirectly obtained by means not always straight ought not to be the function of journalists. I know that the newspaper said to be the greatest in the world makes it a boast to obtain by secret methods news which no other agency can. It makes it a boast to publish news which the keepers are most anxious often in the public interest to withhold for the time being. But the English public submits to the treatment, because moneyed and influential men conduct *The Times*. We have blindly copied the rulers' code of manners without discrimination in the matter of publication of news as in many others of still greater importance. I know that mine is a voice in the wilderness, though I speak with the authority of an unbroken experience of practical journalism for over twenty years, if successful conducting of four weeklies[2] can be re-

[1] Not reproduced here

[2] *Indian Opinion, Young India, Navajivan* and *Hindi Navajivan*

garded as such. Be that as it may, the imminent fight includes among the points of attack this slavish habit of copying everything English. No one will accuse me of any anti-English tendency. Indeed I pride myself on my discrimination. I have thankfully copied many things from them. Punctuality, reticence, public hygiene, independent thinking and exercise of judgment and several other things I owe to my association with them. But never having had the slightest touch of slave mentality in me and never having even a thought of materially benefiting myself through contact, official or otherwise, with them, I have had the rare good fortune of studying them with complete detachment. On the eve of battle therefore I would warn fellow journalists against copying the English method of obtaining and publishing news. Let them study my original method which was introduced long before I became a Mahatma and before I had acquired any status of importance in the public life of India. It was a hard struggle, but I found in the field of journalism as in many others that the strictest honesty and fair dealing was undoubtedly the best policy. Any shorter cut is longer at least by double the length sought to be saved. For there must be a retracing. I say all this not for the sake of reading a lesson to fellow-journalists but for the sake of the struggle in which I would value the co-operation of journalists whether they approve of or oppose my methods of political warfare. Let them not add to the risks I am already taking. The rule I would like them to observe is never to publish any news without having it checked by someone connected with me and having authority.

With this long preface I may inform the reader that the letter was sent through a special messenger to be personally delivered to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy. The messenger selected was a young English friend Reginald Reynolds who came to India some months ago and who has identified himself completely with the Indian cause. For me the sending of the letter was a religious act as the whole struggle is. And I selected an English friend as my messenger, because I wanted to forge a further check upon myself against any intentional act that would hurt a single Englishman. If I have any sense of honour in me, this choice should prove an automatic restraint even upon unconscious error. It pleases me also to have the unselfish and unsolicited association of a cultured, well-read, devout Englishman in an act which may, in spite of all my effort to the contrary, involve loss of English life.

As for the letter itself, when the reader has the text before

> The fact, however, must be repeated that, hitherto, the debt has been contracted by the Government without consulting the people of India; that the latter have no power to vote the borrowing programme or the debt charges, even under the reforms of 1919-20; and that any condition precedent to the recognition of our political majority, even in the form of a full Dominion Status, which will serve as an encumbrance for all time to come on the people of India, without their explicit consent or confirmation, must, in law as well as conscience, be held to be void. The trustee liquidating or dissolving the trust is entitled, of course, to a full statement of accounts regarding his management of the trust, so that no unexpected claims or counter-claims be urged against him subsequently by the beneficiaries coming into their own. But that is no reason why the trustee should be permitted to insist, on the occasion of dissolving the trust, that *all his* claims against the trust estate shall be passed and adopted, without examination, by the erstwhile beneficiaries under his trust.

The Congress resolution[1] means no more than this, save that it suggests also an unexceptionable machinery for a due examination of these transactions.

But they have the power to impose their will, we have not yet generated strength to resist that will. Or Sir Malcolm Hailey would not be able to say as he is reported to have said. He was speaking to the U. P. Legislative Council. In the course of his address he said:

> First and foremost, every legal means would be adopted to defeat the campaign of civil disobedience, and in the event of legal resources proving insufficient, we shall attempt to secure such legal provision as is required to effect our purpose.

This was not enough, and so His Excellency warmed up and said:

> He might even feel that it would not be wholly amiss if the Government were, on this occasion, to furnish some proof of the demoniac character of which he has been told so much.

I trust that civil resisters have counted the cost. For the rulers to give an exhibition of that admirable character would be no new experience for India. I hope that the campaign will so shape itself as to allow the fury exhaustively to expend itself. That is the inevitable result of the law of non-retaliation.

Young India, 6-3-1930

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII.

15. NO RULE v. MISRULE

This letter[1] is obviously meant for publication. Mr. Pennington must always command respect for his great industry at his age and for his sincere advocacy of a cause he believes in. Professor Kumarappa is well able to take care of himself. He, being in a village, is not easily accessible. But whether he has any answer or not to Mr. Pennington's facts, I can say this from my own experience. Most of the "facts" such friends as Mr. Pennington can produce may be true, and yet do not affect the conclusion arrived at by nationalists, nor do those facts warrant the deductions their authors base upon them. "One swallow does not make a summer." Nor can high prices paid for a few acres in a rich tract prove the general prosperity of a continent. As against isolated facts of isolated prosperity stands the grim fact of the general pauperism of India as a whole. This pauperism can be seen with physical eyes by anyone who would care to wander through India's villages. *Pax Britannica* is not a beneficial operation. It has as much value to India as the slave dwellers have in an estate whose owner keeps the slaves from fighting with one another, protects the estate from foreign inroads and makes the slaves work with a regularity that is just enough to keep the estate going in his, the owner's, interest. The slaves of this imaginary estate will, when they grow to consciousness of their position, prefer anarchy to slavery if there is no other choice. Even so should I prefer anarchy to the existing rule and its much-vaunted peace if I can have no other choice. Surely no-rule is better than bad rule. As for the friends who "are most anxious to hold me in respect", I can only say that while I would always esteem their affection, I must be content to go without it if I cannot retain it consistently with obedience to the Inner Voice. What shall it profit me even though I may win the esteem of a whole world, if I have to lose my soul?

Young India, 6-3-1930

[1] Not reproduced here. J. B. Pennington had criticized J. C. Kumarappa's chapters on "Public Finance and Our Poverty" which were serialized in *Young India* from November 28, 1929 to January 23, 1930. Pennington had pointed out some benefits derived by India from *Pax Britannica* and expressed misgivings about the proclamation of independence.

16. *OBSCENE LITERATURE*

No country and no language is free from obscene literature. As long as there are self-indulging and immoral people in the world, obscene literature will continue to be produced and read. But when such literature is disseminated through newspapers of good standing, and under the guise of art or service, it is truly horrible. I have received this kind of obscene literature from the Marwari community. I have also received a copy of the statement published on behalf of respectable Marwaris. The statement seeks to rouse the Marwari community and calls upon it to boycott literature which goes under the name of art but in reality has money as its end. What provoked the statement was the Marwari number of a monthly called *Chand*. I could not read all of it, nor do I wish to do so, but whatever I could read was so obscene and loathsome that no man who has any sense or who has the good of society at heart would ever publish such things. To publish such things in the name of reform is unnecessary and harmful. People who sing filthy songs such as are published in *Chand* do not read newspapers. Its readership can only be of two types: the educated debauchees who wish to satisfy their lust by any means, and innocent men who, though so far free from the ways of vice, are so impressionable that they may be corrupted. For such people obscene literature is fatal. This is also the experience of all. I hope that the effect of the statement issued by these distinguished Marwari gentlemen will be felt by the editor of *Chand* and his associates, and that they will withdraw this number of *Chand* and will refrain in future from publishing such obscene literature. A greater duty as regards this is that of the Marwari community and of society in general. It should never buy nor even read such obscene literature. Editors of Hindi papers have a twofold responsibility. Since we want to make Hindi the national language, it becomes their duty to protect this language. One like myself who worships the national language would expect only books with lofty ideas. Therefore, if it is possible, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan should appoint a language committee whose function it would be to scrutinize every new book for its language, thought, etc. The committee should then prepare lists of books adjudged best and those adjudged obscene, and it should popularize the good

books and boycott the obscene ones. Such a committee can only be successful if its members are well versed in literature and are willing to devote themselves whole-heartedly to the service of literature.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 6-3-1930

17. TELEGRAM TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

AHMEDABAD,
March 6, 1930

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

LETTER[1] HANDED PRESS FOR PUBLICATION. MARCHING EARLY MORNING 12TH WITH SIXTY COMPANIONS.

GANDHI

A.I.C.C. File No. 178, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

18. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 6, 1930

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I have your letter. I do not think it advisable to ask you to leave that place just now. I will start on the march on the 12th, accompanied by most of the men in the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U. III

[1] *Vide* pp. 2-8.

19. LETTER TO TEHMINA KHAMBHATTA

March 6, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I can understand that you will feel hurt if Bhai Khambhatta joins the struggle at present. Just now I agree with you. I hope you do not wish that he should not join the struggle at any time? It is one's duty to do everything possible to preserve one's body. When, however, a situation arises in which one can be faithful to dharma only by laying down one's life, it becomes one's duty to do so. I am sure, therefore, that if and when such a time comes both of you will be ready to sacrifice yourselves. Rest assured that, to those who fight in the name of God, He gives the strength to endure all hardships.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7544

20. LETTER TO BEHRAMJI KHAMBHATTA

March 6, 1930

BHAISHRI KHAMBHATTA,

I have your letter. Though you have not joined the Ashram, to me you are more than an inmate of the Ashram. Your regular study of *Young India* and *Navajivan* and your manner of life are not unknown to me. You are quite fit to join the struggle. But you should not be in a hurry just now. You should respect the feelings of Tehminabehn. There is some substance, too, in what she says. The way you are neglecting your body, who can guarantee how long it will be able to stand the life in jail? Hence it would be better to be humble. My advice, therefore, is this: Hold yourself back for the present and join the struggle when it takes a crucial turn. If you get an opportunity in Bombay itself, you may certainly take the plunge. At that time, I think Tehminabehn also will not restrain you but, on the contrary, will encourage you. If it becomes necessary, she herself will plunge into the struggle. I think women, too, will have to

join in this final struggle. If, moreover, violence breaks out in Bombay, it will become your duty to try to preserve peace and even lay down your life in doing so. It would, therefore, be better if you hold yourself in reserve for the time being. It is indeed necessary that some persons should do so.

I was glad, all the same, that you sent a letter to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 7545

21. LETTER TO PUNJABHAI

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 6, 1930

BHAISHRI PUNJABHAI,

I have your letter.

The march will start on the 12th. If you wish to join, you should come and see me before that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4010

22. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

March 7, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

After a talk with Sitla Sahai, I have decided to send him there. Let him see what he can do there and you will watch developments. If he and you decide that he should come back, he may do so. His wife and children will remain here and he can draw upon the Ashram for his bare upkeep. The rest you will hear from him.

Yours,
BAPU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

23. *STATEMENT ON ARREST OF VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

March 7, 1930

It is a good omen for us that Sardar Vallabhbhai has been arrested and sentenced. It remains to be seen what use we make of this happy beginning. The fight has now commenced and we have to carry it to its conclusion. People should celebrate the Sardar's arrest and the sentence passed on him by observing a general hartal. I request the mill-owners to close the mills, the students to absent themselves from their institutions and all shop-keepers to close their shops. There should be no need to tell Gujarat to preserve peace. Our struggle must remain non-violent from beginning to end.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 9-3-1930

24. *CABLE TO JOHN HAYNES HOLMES*

[On or after *March 7, 1930*][1]

NOBODY HAS AUTHORITY REPRESENT ME AMERICA. MOVEMENT ABSOLUTELY PEACEFUL. CONGRESS POLICY OF NON-VIOLENCE REMAINS UNCHANGED. IN EVENT MASS RESPONSE DIFFICULT SAY HOW THINGS WILL SHAPE BUT THOUSANDS BENT ON KEEPING

[1] This was sent in reply to the following cable of March 6, 1930, received at the Ashram the following day: "Friends Indian independence universal peace most anxiously watching nationalist movement under your leadership redoubling efforts rallying American sympathies. Subsidized imperialist agencies permanent obstacle but most serious damage being done Indian cause by Sailendranath Ghose styled representative Indian Congress, your agent, etc. His persistent wildly violent misrepresentations like announcing Indian resolve military resistance arming million nationalists would [*sic*] your sponsorship increasingly alienating sympathies millions who pinning faith your non-violence victory. Respectfully urge Congress immediately disavow Ghose's representative character prevent further injury. Rezmie founder India Independence League ceaselessly influencing all shades American Press public through accurate temperate sympathetic interpretation nationalist position your creed acts. Rezmie zealous trustworthy could splendidly represent you and Congress. First time we venturing advise you but condition very serious danger permanently losing American support imminent. Kindly act before disobedience starts. . . ."

PEACE UNDER GRAVEST PROVOCATION. NO ONE EVEN WHISPERS ABOUT MILITARY RESISTANCE. NO ONE ARMING NATIONALISTS. CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE UNDER STRICTEST RESTRICTIONS BEING STARTED ON 12TH.

GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 16637

25. *A FOREWORD*

SABARMATI,
March 8, 1930

Those who are interested [in] the preservation of the priceless wealth of India in the shape of the cow through constructive means will find much food for thought in the following well-written pages.[1]

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: C.W. 9327

26. *FOREWORD TO "DRAUPADINAN CHIR"*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 8, 1930

Those who wish to study the subject of khadi from a historical point of view or understand why spinning is a moral duty will find the following chapters by Shri Valji Desai immensely interesting.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9273. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

[1] The name of the book is not ascertainable.

27. *FOREWORD TO "RAJKATHA"*

SATYAGRAHA ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 8, 1930

A study of the mutual obligations of rulers and subjects has a special relevance at the present time. Shri Valji Desai's collection of essays helps us to understand clearly the duties of a king, the distinction between a good king and a bad king, how kings were elected and dethroned in ancient times, and so on.

MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 9272. Courtesy: V. G. Desai

28. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

Saturday [*March 8, 1930*][1]

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

If you have the strength this is your duty.

Assure mother that you will not court imprisonment, but that you will have to go if arrested. She must return to Delhi in peace. Even if she does not go you will have to leave for Vijapur.

And having said your say, go away to Vijapur. Whatever your mother may do, even if she should die, you cannot deviate from your dharma. And it would be *adharma* to shirk on this occasion. Your duty is to strengthen your body and devote yourself to your work. If mother will stay on here, she will be looked after and served. Your brother told me that he quite understood; I think mother too will come round. Anyway, your path is quite clear.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

See me for a minute before leaving.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2376

[1] The date is from *At the Feet of Bapu*, p. 57

29. *SPEECH AT AHMEDABAD*

March 8, 1930

I know that my voice will not reach you all. In the first place it does not have the power it once had. And then no man's voice can be heard by such a large crowd. I must be content if a few of these men and women can hear me. More people will be able to hear if those that cannot hear will be quiet and wait till their neighbours can give them a report of the speech.

I have nothing new to tell you. I have already given to the people of Ahmedabad and the whole of India the message which I had to give. Now the time has come when you and I will be finally tested, and in that matter the Government has made our path easy—yours as well as mine. I had never dreamt that Sardar Vallabhbhai would be imprisoned so soon. I think his services to Gujarat, and more particularly to this city, exceed mine a hundred times. Hence it is no wonder that he has been honoured by imprisonment before me. That certainly is his good fortune and yours also. But I find myself in a difficult situation because he has been imprisoned before me. I am eager to get arrested at any cost. I want to deprive the Government of its illegitimate monopoly of salt. My aim is to get the Salt Tax abolished. That is for me one step, the first step, towards full freedom. Sardar Vallabhbhai is no longer with us in this task. The people of India are now impatient and will not rest until they have won complete freedom. My voice is bound to reach the Government somehow, but Gujarat should preserve complete peace. The imprisonment of Vallabhbhai is the Government's way of rewarding his services in preserving complete peace during the satyagraha at Bardoli.

We have known it for years that this is the only way in which the Government can reward an independent-minded and freedom-loving person like Sardar Vallabhbhai. Let us all get so completely absorbed in our task that we win at once what we have been yearning for all these years. To fulfil the pledge we took on the 26th we should offer civil disobedience. Though Vallabhbhai had broken no salt law, the Government has arrested him and broken my right hand, so to say. If it has imprisoned and removed one Vallabhbhai, you, the men and women of Ahmedabad, should take his place and work as his representatives. Get ready at once,

if you have love for him and have come here to sacrifice yourselves. If you are ready to follow him in his self-sacrifice, we shall show to the Government and to the world how our aspirations are bound to be realized. May God grant us the strength necessary for the sacrifice we have to make.

My determination to march on Wednesday morning with the first batch, comprising the Ashram inmates, stands unchanged. Let everyone present here do his duty. Vallabhbhai has said in his message that his speech at Broach clearly indicates what people should do if and when Gandhi is arrested. By going to jail himself, he has been as good as his word. Let the Government reward us all in that way. I have no intention of asking you to pass any resolution here. But I expect you to put into practice the pledge which I have drafted for you to take now.

> We the citizens of Ahmedabad, men and women, hereby resolve to follow Sardar Vallabhbhai to jail, or win complete independence. We shall have no peace, nor will we let the Government have any, till we have won complete independence. We believe that India's freedom is to be won through peaceful and truthful means.

I hope that the thousands of men and women present here will raise their hands and take the pledge for which I have been training the country in general, and the citizens of Ahmedabad in particular, for the last fifteen years, and which was taken at the time of the labour strike here. Raise your hands only if you have the strength to act upon it.[1]

I congratulate you on the peaceful strike you have observed. I expect the men, women and students of Ahmedabad to do their duty by Sardar Vallabhbhai and the country.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 10-3-1930

[1] Thousands of hands were raised.

30. TALK TO MILL-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION MEMBERS

March 8, 1930

The Majoor Mahajan used to be paid the interest on the National School funds. That pleased me and I believe you too were pleased. But now that money has stopped coming in. I had asked M. Sheth not to stop it. Nevertheless it was stopped. The objection was that the mill-owners should have a say in its management—this was of course a difference of principle. It is for the Mahajan to decide how the Majoor school should be run. Moreover, it is they themselves who run it. Even the inspectors have been satisfied. I too have inspected it. I have noticed progress every time. Be that as it may, we cannot have a hand in managing the affairs of an institution to which we make a donation. For then it ceases to be a donation. I had explained this even at the time I asked for donations from you. You had remarked that my work was of a political and social nature. After this was made clear, you gave me this money for social work. Likewise you accepted my views generously. It is not proper that you should now demand a hand in the management. I ask you to have a committee of inspection. If you feel that the work is not being carried on properly, you may stop your donations. Even the Government does not participate in the management though it does supervise. You too can do what you like as inspectors. Even then if you do not like to donate funds, I shall make another suggestion. The people are filled with admiration for the school that is being run there, the Montessori school. Donate money to him—to Prof. Miller. . . .[1] The labourers need that money. You talk of the increase in the wages of labourers. I must tell you that even sons of big men study there and do not pay full fees. You seem to desire that this school should be run on the small sum that the labourers save. Do the labourers collect money for the purpose of fighting? You should be thankful to me because they do not collect funds to launch a fight.

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: S.N. 16657

[1] One sentence here is obscure.

31. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM

[Before *March 9, 1930*][1]

How can I go back on the principles I have held dear all my life, when I find that it is these principles that are being put to the test? I have no doubt in my mind that vaccination is a filthy process, that it is harmful in the end and that it is little short of taking beef. I may be entirely mistaken. But holding the views that I do, how can I recant them? Because I see child after child passing away?[2] No, not even if the whole of the Ashram were to be swept away, may I insist on vaccination and pocket my principle. What would my love of truth and my adherence to principle mean if they were to vanish at the slightest touch of reality?

. . .[3] But God is putting me through a greater test. On the eve of what is to be the final test of our strength, God is warning me through the messenger of death. I have tried hydropathy and earth treatment with success in numerous cases. Never has the treatment failed as it seems to have done during the month. But does that mean that I must therefore lose faith in the treatment and faith in God? Even so my faith in the efficacy of non-violence may be put to the severest test. I may have to see not three but hundreds and thousands being done to death during the campaign I am about to launch. Shall my heart quail before that catastrophe, or will I persevere in my faith? No, I want you, everyone, to understand that this epidemic is not a scourge, but a trial and preparation, a tribulation sent to steel our hearts and to chain us more strongly and firmly to faith in God. And would not my faith in the *Gita* be a mockery if three deaths were to unhinge me? It is as clear to me as daylight that life and death are but phases of the same thing, the reverse and obverse of the same coin. In fact tribulations and death seem to me to present a phase far richer than happiness of life. What is life worth without trials and tribulations which are the salt of life? The history of mankind would have been a blank sheet without these individuals. What is *Ramayana* but a record of the trials, privations and penances of Rama and Sita? The life of Rama, after the recovery of Sita, full of

[1] A brief report of this speech was published in *Navajivan*, 9-3-1930.

[2] Three children had died of smallpox in the Ashram.

[3] As in the source

happiness as it was, does not occupy even a hundredth part of the epic. I want you all to treasure death and suffering more than life, and to appreciate their cleansing and purifying character.

Young India, 12-3-1930

32. *THE FINAL TEST*

The letter[1] to the Viceroy was despatched from here on Sunday. It reached him on Tuesday. As proposed therein, it was given to the Press on Thursday for publication after awaiting the Viceroy's telegram. The reader will find in this issue a translation of the letter.

God willing, I hope to start the march at daybreak on Wednesday. Workers from Surat side tell me that there are many facilities there for easy manufacture of salt. Moreover, as they say, complete peace is likely to be preserved there and, along with it, help from the general public is also very probable. In the district of Surat, again, the choice has fallen on Jalalpur taluka for the marching corps to enter. In 1921, when the struggle for swaraj was launched at Bardoli, the Jalalpur taluka had applied for being chosen for the honour and I still have several sweet memories of my experience of the place. Even today the constructive programme there is in a flourishing state. The taluka has many facilities for the manufacture of salt. The people of the place are full of enthusiasm and in every way ready to participate in the struggle. This is Sardar Vallabhbhai's view, and he has, therefore, selected Jalalpur taluka for offering civil disobedience against the salt law. Whether my co-workers or I shall be able to proceed so far in our march, that is, whether Government will let us reach there, is a question. I believe we shall not be so allowed. Even then, I expect, Jalalpur taluka will take full part in the struggle. The Sardar is quite sure that it will. But I shall not be satisfied with that. I hope the whole of Gujarat will join this time. If Gujarat takes the initiative, I have no doubt that the whole of India will rise up. When a great awakening takes place among a people, there is always the fear of violence breaking out. This non-violent war is not free from that fear. No one is pained at the outbreak of violence where no question of violence or non-violence arises. Many even welcome it. But in this struggle we have a large number whose duty it would be

[1] *Vide* pp. 2-8.

to prevent, and not welcome, the outbreak of violence. Deterred by the fear of violence, I had been holding back civil disobedience and trying till now to dissuade the people from launching it. But I am now ready to take the ultimate step even at the risk of a violent outbreak, because I find that there is no other way in which I might prepare the people for the struggle. Looking at the other side, I find that the Government's organized violence goes on increasing day by day and the group wanting to meet violence with violence is becoming correspondingly stronger. Hence, if non-violence has the power to check violence or if I am truly non-violent, I must be able to find a non-violent way to restrain the double violence which I have mentioned. That way, I believe, is the way I am now adopting. And if I am mistaken, I have no doubt that I ought to cease obstructing the progress of the people any more. I do clearly see that I would put my non-violence to shame if I remained content with working only for khadi. There is no doubt in my mind that the power of non-violence is a million times greater than that of khadi. Nor do I in any way doubt that khadi is an essential element of the non-violent way to win swaraj and that without khadi, there can be no swaraj. I have no doubt also that unless khadi had made the progress it has I should not have had the self-confidence to adopt the way I am now preparing to take. But it is clear that there should now be some other action besides the manufacture of khadi. There is need of greater awakening among the people even for giving more impetus to the khadi movement. If we are able to rouse the people and also maintain non-violence, there is no doubt that swaraj will be ours here and now. Having thus considered the matter I am taking the plunge. The reader will observe that this reasoning occurred to me after I had first seen the way. It is my belief that great things are achieved by man in obedience to the prompting of the inner voice. It is another matter whether the inner voice is from God or Satan. It has been my experience, with regard to myself and many others, that after one has heard the inner voice, one finds arguments in support of it.

It is clear as daylight that I ought to get out of the way if this inner voice is wrong or devilish. I believe the inner voice to be divine and hence the only way open to me is to follow the way shown by the light within and demonstrate its success or die in the attempt.

I, therefore, look upon this struggle as the final test. Those who join it may join on this understanding only.

If countless multitudes join the struggle and if peace is preserved, we shall win swaraj sooner than we imagine.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-3-1930

33. SATYAGRAHIS' MARCH

Our party is likely to consist of about a hundred men. I have not been able to finalize the list yet, as, besides the present inmates of the Ashram, I am selecting for inclusion some others who observe the rules of Ashram life and are eager to join, and who have to be included.

The march will begin at 6.30 on the 12th morning. I give below the programme as tentatively fixed:

Wednesday, the 12th		Aslali
Thursday, the 13th	Morning	Bareja
	Evening	Navagam
Friday, the 14th	Morning	Vasana
	Evening	Matar
Saturday, the 15th	Morning	Dabhan
	Evening	Nadiad
Sunday, the 16th	Morning	Boriavi
	Evening	Anand
Monday, the 17th	Morning	Napa
	Evening	Borsad
Tuesday, the 18th	Morning	Raas
	Evening	Badalpur

I request the *mahajans* and the workers of the respective places to bear in mind the following. The satyagrahi party is expected to reach each place by 8 o'clock in the morning and to sit down for lunch between 10.00 and 10.30 a.m. It may be half past nine by the time the party reaches Aslali on the first day. No rooms will be needed for rest at noon or night, but a clean, shaded place will be enough. In the absence of such a shaded place, it will be enough to have a bamboo-and-grass covering. Both bamboo and grass can be put to use again.

It is assumed that the village people will provide us food.

If provisions are supplied, the party will cook its own meal. The food supplied, whether cooked or uncooked, should be the simplest possible. Nothing more than *rotli* or *rotla* or kedgeree with vegetables and milk or curds, will be required. Sweets, even if pre-

pared, will be declined. Vegetables should be merely boiled, and no oil, spices and chillies, whether green or dry, whole or crushed, should be added or used in the cooking. This is my advice for preparing a meal:

Morning, before departure:	*Rab* and *dhebra*; the *rab* should be left to the party itself to prepare.
Midday:	*Bhakhri*, vegetable and milk or butter-milk.
Evening, before the march is resumed:	Roasted gram, rice.
Night:	Kedgeree with vegetable and butter-milk or milk.

The ghee for all the meals together should not exceed three *tolas* per head: One *tola* in the *rab*, one served separately to be smeared on the *bhakhri*, and one to be put into the kedgeree. For me goat's milk, if available, in the morning, at noon and at night, and raisins or dates and three lemons will do. I hope that the village people will incur no expenses whatever, except for the simple food items named above.

I look forward to meeting the people of each village and its neighbourhood.

Everyone in the party will be carrying his own bedding, so that the village people will have to provide nothing except a clean place for resting in.

The people should incur no expense on account of betel leaves, betel-nuts or tea for the party.

I shall be happy if every village maintains complete cleanliness and fixes beforehand an enclosed place for the satyagrahis to answer calls of nature. If the villagers do not already use khadi, it is clear that they should now start using it.

It is desirable that information under the following heads should be kept ready for each village:

1. Population: Number of women, men, Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Parsis, etc.
2. Number of untouchables.
3. If there is a school in the village, the number of boys and girls attending it.
4. Number of spinning-wheels.
5. The monthly sale of khadi.
6. Number of people wearing khadi exclusively.
7. Salt consumed per head; salt used for cattle, etc.

8. Number of cows and buffaloes in the village.
9. The amount of land revenue paid; at what rate per acre.
10. The area of the common grazing-ground if any.
11. Do the people drink? How far is the liquor shop from the village?
12. Educational and other special facilities, if any, for the untouchables.

It will be good if this information is written out on a sheet of paper neatly and handed to me immediately on our arrival.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 9-3-1930

34. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

March 9, 1930

CHI. MANI,

I was waiting every day to hear from you. Not a day passed on which I did not remember you, but I quite understand your feelingt hat I neglect you. My pitiable condition is responsible for it. I have no time even to raise my head to look at anybody. I was content with knowing where you were and what you were about.

Father did not leave any instructions for you. He had no idea [he would be arrested]. You should live in any place where you will be happy and at peace.[1] You can certainly go to jail when the time comes. Mahadev has written about it. I understand why you like to live in the Ashram. But I think your attitude is not proper. Compulsion in such matters however is out of the question. So I will say nothing more about it. I only wish that you should bc at ease, no matter where you live.

I expect to be arrested before Tuesday.

Be brave and improve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. MANIBEHN
C/o DAHYABHAI VALLABHBHAI PATEL
SHRIRAM NIWAS, PAREKH STREET, BOMBAY-4

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro–4: Ku. Manibehn Patelne, p. 69

[1] The addressee had been ailing and was receiving treatment in Bombay.

35. LETTER TO SATIN D. GUPTA

[Before *March 10, 1930*]

I know my absence will bring a fresh leader to the forefront. Let every man constitute himself into a leader and conduct the movement whose success must depend on the deep faith of the mass in non-violence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 10-3-1930

36. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM[1]

March 10, 1930

I am glad that you have been coming to our prayer in such large numbers, and generally I would say, 'May your tribe increase.' But I must utter a few words of warning. If it is mere curiosity that draws you here, you had better not come at all. If it is the prayer that attracts you, you are quite welcome, but in that case this sudden inroad cannot be accounted for. But I presume you come both for the prayer and for understanding the significance of the campaign I am about to launch.

As for the prayer, I assure you that mere utterance, parrotwise, of the name of God is of no avail. All your trouble in coming this long distance from the town would be wasted and the quiet of our prayers would be disturbed. If therefore your desire to take part in the prayer is genuine, you must be prepared to fulfil a condition which alone can prove your *bona fides*, and that is that you come here dressed in khadi. You may or may not admit the many claims made on behalf of khadi, but one thing is now practically universally admitted, that khadi unites the wearer to the poorest of the land. And I may tell you that but for the progress that khadi has made in recent years I should not have been able to launch this campaign. It is the spread of khadi that infuses in me the hope that the message of non-violence has spread to the masses, for I have always associated non-violence with khadi. A

[1] This is a condensed summary of Gandhiji's speech made at the end of the prayer meeting, which was attended by about 2,000 people.

believer in violence may wear khadi, but he would do so in order to exploit it.

As for the other desire that also prompts you to come here, you know that the march begins on Wednesday morning. Everyone is on the tiptoe of expectation, and before anything has happened the thing has attracted world-wide attention. Now I should like to analyse the thing for you and to implore you to appreciate its implications. Though the battle is to begin in a couple of days, how is it that you can come here quite fearlessly? I do not think anyone of you would be here if you had to face rifleshots or bombs. But you have no fear of rifleshots or bombs. Why? Supposing I had announced that I was going to launch a violent campaign (not necessarily with men armed with rifles, but even with sticks or stones), do you think the Government would have left me free until now? Can you show me an example in history (be it England, America or Russia) where the State has tolerated violent defiance of authority for a single day? But here you know that the Government is puzzled and perplexed. And you have come here because you have been familiarized by now with the idea of seeking voluntary imprisonment.

Then I would ask you to proceed a step further. Supposing ten men in each of the 700,000 villages in India come forward to manufacture salt and to disobey the Salt Act, what do you think can this Government do? Even the worst autocrat you can imagine would not dare to blow regiments of peaceful civil resisters out of a cannon's mouth. If only you will bestir yourselves just a little, I assure you we should be able to tire this Government out in a very short time. I want you, therefore, to understand the meaning of this struggle and to do your part in it. If it is only curiosity that moves you to walk this long distance, you had better not waste your time and mine. If you come here to bless us and our movement, the blessings must take some concrete shape. I don't want any money from you. I am hoping that it may be possible to fight this battle with the least possible money. At the time of Kheda Satyagraha in 1918 I had to refuse several offers for raising contributions. In Bardoli an appeal was made and there was a spontaneous response, but much of the money was saved and is now being utilized for constructive work. So I do not want you to contribute any money just now. That you will do unasked when our suffering has reached that stage which cannot but compel your sympathy. But I want you to take your courage in both hands and contribute in men towards the struggle which promises to be fierce and prolonged. I certainly expect the city of Ahmedabad, the

Ahmedabad of Vallabhbhai, who is already in jail, to furnish an unlimited supply of volunteers to keep the stream unbroken, in case batch after batch happens to be arrested and marched to jail. That is the least I expect of you. May God give you the strength to rise to the occasion.

Young India, 12-3-1930

37. MESSAGE TO ANDHRA[1]

[Before *March 11, 1930*]

This is a battle to the finish. The Divine Hand is guiding it. It must be prolonged till the last man offers himself for satyagraha.

The Hindu, 14-3-1930

38. INTERVIEW TO H. D. RAJAH[2]

[On or before *March 11, 1930*]

I had a prolonged interview with Gandhiji regarding the coming struggle and the part youths are to play. Gandhi said:

I begin the struggle in right earnest on 12th morning. This struggle must be continued to the successful end. Either we shall be effaced out of the earth or we shall spring up as an independent nation enjoying full freedom. We shall face the bullets with our backs to the wall. In our fight, we shall be engaged in active civil disobedience campaign and fill the prisons with men and women, but there will be no retreat at any cost. I hope to return to Ashram triumphant in our struggle for India achieving her independence.

Questioned by me as a to what the people should do when he is arrested, Gandhiji said:

Yes, I expect arrest at any moment. But the fight should continue. The Congress Committees, Provincial, District or Taluka, should organize the campaign.

What part can the Youth Leagues play in this fight?

[1] This was read out at a public meeting held on March 11 under the auspices of the Rajahmundry City Congress Committee.

[2] This was published as a letter to the Editor.

The Youth Leagues should organize volunteers and offer them to the Congress Committees which decide on a course of action. If any Congress Committee of a particular place fails to do the work, the Youth League would take up the work and do it. . . .

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-3-1930

39. *INTERVIEW TO "THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN"*

SABARMATI ASHRAM,
[On or before *March 11, 1930*][1]

I don't believe that the slightest good for India can come of the Round Table Conference in London. I would like to spare the world the melancholy spectacle of Indians fighting against Indians in a foreign country, but this is what the Conference would lead to, as it seems to be composed at present. I shall waste no time. I expect my movement to be successful. I hope that my movement will not lead to deeds of violence, but even in this case there can be no going back for me. Yet I supported the Nehru Report once; but many things have changed since then.

I admit that this may be my last chance, and if I do not seize it, it may never come again. The revolutionary and, of course, violent movement has gained ground heavily. The need for the speediest action is absolutely clear. The question of religious antagonisms and the problem of the native States are subordinate questions, and cannot be solved until we have the power in our own hands. I do not believe that there is any solution to the Indian problem except the one I have now proposed.

The Hindu, 11-6-1930

[1] Evidently the interview was given before Gandhiji started on his march on March 12, 1930.

40. *ON RECORDING OF MESSAGE*[1]

[On or before *March 11, 1930*]

If there is truth in my message, then whether I am inside or outside the jail, people are bound to pay heed to it. But if there is no truth in it, then in spite of all your efforts, and even with the help of gramophone, you would not be able to carry it to the people. If the satyagraha we are going to start is really satyagraha, that is to say, if it means an insistence on truth, and if we are prepared to go ahead on the basis of truth and non-violence, it is bound to succeed, whether people hear my words or not, and whether my voice reaches their ears or not. Therefore, a record like this is neither necessary nor likely to be of any help.

At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi, pp. 181-2

41. *ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS*[2]

[On or before *March 11, 1930*]

Q. What sort of Government do you want?

A. I want a Government that would obey and carry out the wishes of the people.

Q. You want a democracy?

A. I am not interested in words, and I never worry myself about the form of government.

Q. But don't you mind methods?

A. I do mind them very much indeed, but I don't mind the form.

Q. Then you would not mind a monarchy?

A. I said form and machinery do not much matter to me.

[1] Rajendra Prasad had suggested that a message of Gandhiji might be recorded so that it could be played after his arrest. This was Gandhiji's reply.

[2] These were reported by Mahadev Desai under the heading "Talks before the Trek".

Q. Well, then, tell me what form your democracy will take.

A. I do not know; the method alone interests me, and by method I mean the agency through which the wishes of the people are reached. There are only two methods; one is that of fraud and force; the other is that of non-violence and truth. Force always includes fraud, non-violence always excludes it.

Q. Can't you have fraud with non-violence?

A. No. Impossible. Fraud itself is a species of violence.

Q. Well, I have seen fraud associated with non-violence. China is reputed to be one of the most peaceful countries in the world, and if I were to tell you about the frauds there, you would be shocked.

A. I repeat, words do not capture my imagination. As a people, the Chinese are one of the most peaceful in the world, but that peace cannot be real and voluntary if there is fraud in it. If I harbour ill-will in my breast but do not express it in acts, I am still violent. By non-violence or peace I mean the peace which comes through inner strength. If I have that peace, that non-violence, I won't have any hate in me. Violence does not necessarily mean bodily harm. What I want to impress on everyone is that I do not want India to reach her goal through questionable means. Whether that is possible or not is another question. It is sufficient for my present purpose if the person who thinks out the plan and leads the people is absolutely above board and has non-violence and truth in him. Non-violence works organically, not mechanically. It was for that reason that I asked for unrestricted authority from the Working Committee of the Congress to work out my plan of non-violence.

Q. Don't you think, Gandhiji, boycott of foreign goods would be more potent than civil disobedience?

A. Years ago I heard that futile cry and I replaced it by one for the boycott of foreign cloth. It made some impression, but that of boycott of foreign goods made none at all.

Q. My impression is that in Bengal boycott of British goods was tried with success, but no other province took it up.

A. No. It fizzled out. The mills in Ahmedabad and Bombay defrauded the nation by sending spurious cloth; and when genuine mill-cloth was sent, exorbitant prices were charged.

Q. That is what I mean to say. The thing was not tried seriously.

A. If it was not, it means that the people did not want to.

So far as I am concerned, I never believed in it and so I could never back it.

Q. But would it not be easier to handle foreign-cloth boycott than civil disobedience?

A. No. It is far more difficult. In one case you want the co-operation of 300 million people. In the other, even if you have an army of ten thousand defiant men and women, your work is done.

Q. Why? They can be all clapped in jail and nothing more will happen thereafter.

A. Let them try the experiment. They would have to hang these men before they could dismiss them from their minds. If these men are trusty and true their very presence will worry the Government unto death.

Q. Will they worry Government even in prison?

A. For one thing they can't keep them there for any length of time. The fact is that we never had even 5,000 full civil resisters in 1921. Every political prisoner is not necessarily a civil resister.

Q. Will not your movement lead to violence?

A. It may, though I am trying my best to prevent any outbreak of violence. Today there is greater risk of violence, in the absence of any safety-valve in the shape of a movement of non-violence like the one I am contemplating.

Q. Yes, I have heard you say that you are launching this campaign for the very purpose of stopping violence.

A. It is one argument, but that is not the most conclusive argument. The other and most conclusive argument for me is that if non-violence has to prove its worth, it must prove its worth today. It must cease to be the passive or even impotent instrument that it has come to be looked upon [as] in certain quarters. And when it is exercised in the most effective way, it must act in spite of the most fatal *outward* obstructions. In fact non-violence by its very nature must neutralize all *outward* obstruction. On the contrary, inward obstacles in the shape of fraud, hatred, and ill-will would be fatal to the movement. Up to now I used to say: "Let me get control over the forces of violence." It is growing upon me now that it is only by setting the force of non-violence in motion that I can get those elements under control.

But I hear people say, "History will have to repeat itself in India." Let it repeat itself, if it must. I for one must not post-

pone the movement unless I am to be guilty of the charge of cowardice. I must fight unto death the system based on violence and thus bring under control the force of political violence. When real organic non-violence is set to work, the masses also will react manfully.

Q. But after you are removed the movement will no longer be in your control?

A. In South Africa the movement was not in my control during the latter part of it, when it gained considerable momentum without any action on my part. Thousands joined the movement instinctively. I had not even seen the faces of them, much less known them. They joined because they felt that they must. They had possibly only heard my name, but they saw in the twinkling of an eye that it was a movement for their liberation; they knew that there was a man prepared to fight the £3 tax and they took the plunge. And against what odds? Their mines were converted into jails; the men who oppressed them day and night were appointed warders over them. They knew that there would be hell let loose on them. And yet they did not waver or falter. It was a perfect miracle.

Q. But would not the movement add to the already numerous divisions existing in the country?

A. I have no such fear. The forces of disunion can be kept under control, even as the forces of violence. You may say tha there is fear elsewhere. The party of violence may not respond tc my advances and the masses might behave unthinkingly. I am an optimist and have an abiding faith in human nature. The party of violence will give me fair play and the masses will act rightly by instinct. It is possible that I may be living in a fool's paradise. But no general can possibly provide for all contingencies. For me it is the opportunity of a lifetime. The movement is none of my seeking. Almost in spite of myself I was irresistibly drawn to Calcutta. I entered into a compromise to which I was driven. The period of two years I changed to one, simply because it did not involve any moral principle. In Lahore I had to conceive and frame practically every resolution. There I saw the forces of violence and non-violence in full play, acting side by side; and I found that non-violence ultimately triumphed over violence.

Q. You said some time ago that the time was not ripe for civil disobedience. What has happened between that time and today that has helped you to alter your view?

A. I am quite positive that it is fully ripe. The reason I will tell you. Nothing has happened externally, but the internal conflict in me, which was the only barrier, has ceased; and I am absolutely certain now that the campaign had been long overdue. I might have started it long before this.

Q. And what was that internal conflict?

A. You know I have always been guided solely by my attitude towards non-violence, but I did not know then how to translate that attitude into action in the face of growing violence. But now I see as clearly as daylight that, pursuing the course that I have adopted, I minimize the risk I am taking.

Q. Are you sure that the salt campaign will lead you to jail?

A. I have not a shadow of doubt that it will. How long exactly it will take is more than I can say, but I feel that it will be much sooner than most people would be inclined to think. I expect a crisis to be soon reached which would lead to a proper Conference—not a Round Table Conference, but a Square Table, one where everybody attending it would know his bearings. The exact lineaments of that Conference I cannot at present depict, but it will be a Conference between equals met to lay their heads together to devise ways and means for the establishment of an Independent Constitution in India.

Q. Were you not responsible for allowing the Viceregal negotiations to come to an abrupt end?

A. I know that is the impression in certain quarters; the public blamed me for a time, but now it has come to understand the true position.

Q. Are you quite sure that in the position you took, the influence of the younger generation did not weigh with you?

A. No. Not a bit. I had never been sanguine about the Round Table Conference. I went of course as far as I could. But the central thing I always insisted on was that the Conference should apply itself to a scheme of Dominion Status suited to the needs of India. If the Viceroy had said 'Yes', I should gladly have asked him to proceed to the other points.

Q. Then you had no objection to the scheme coming into operation some years hence?

A. If the scheme was such as to come into operation at a future time, I should rule it out. But I may not talk about our interview with the Viceroy. The public might know more about

it some day. I can assure you however that there was no question of a real Dominion Status scheme being framed.

Q. Just a question about your now famous eleven points. If some of them are conceded, would there be room for a compromise?

A. If they were to concede a few main points and couple the concession with a promise that the rest would be conceded as soon as possible, I would be prepared to consider a proposition for a Conference. But the justice of all those demands must be admitted. You will agree that there is nothing new about them. Most have been handed down to us from Dadabhai Naoroji's time.

Q. Supposing they conceded your demand about the reduction of civil and military expenditure, would you not regard it as a sufficient proof of their *bona fides*?

A. I should seriously reconsider my position, but it would all depend on the spirit in which the concession was made.

Young India, 20-3-1930

42. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM

[On or before *March 11, 1930*][1]

Let me, moreover, make one thing clear. Either we shall win the goal for which we are marching or die in the attempt to win it. There can be no turning back for us hereafter. We will keep on our fight till swaraj is established in India. This will be the last fight. The soldiers who accompany me must note that there is to be no retreat. Those of them that are married should take leave of their wives, and the wives should congratulate their husbands on their being the first soldiers of the country's freedom battle. We are as good as parting from the Ashram and from our homes. Only with complete victory can we return to this place.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 16-3-1930

[1] According to the source the speech was delivered to a large gathering either on the 10th or 11th of March.

43. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM

March 11, 1930

In all probability this will be my last speech to you. Even if the Government allow me to march tomorrow morning, this will be my last speech on the sacred banks of the Sabarmati. Possibly these may be the last words of my life here.

I have already told you yesterday what I had to say. Today I shall confine myself to what you should do after I and my companions are arrested. The programme of the march to Jalalpur must be fulfilled as originally settled. The enlistment of volunteers for this purpose should be confined to Gujarat. From what I have seen and heard during the last fortnight I am inclined to believe that the stream of civil resisters will flow unbroken.

But let there be not a semblance of breach of peace even after all of us have been arrested. We have resolved to utilize all our resources in the pursuit of an exclusively non-violent struggle. Let no one commit a wrong in anger. This is my hope and prayer. I wish these words of mine reached every nook and corner of the land. My task shall be done if I perish and so do my comrades. It will then be for the Working Committee of the Congress to show you the way and it will be up to you to follow its lead. That is the only meaning of the Working Committee's resolution. The reins of the movement will still remain in the hands of those of my associates who believe in non-violence as an article of faith. Of course, the Congress will be free to chalk out what course of action commends itself to it. So long as I have not reached Jalalpur, let nothing be done in contravention to the authority vested in me by the Congress. But once I am arrested, the whole general responsibility shifts to the Congress. No one who believes in non-violence, as a creed, need therefore sit still. My compact with the Congress ends as soon as I am arrested. In that case there should be no slackness in the enrolment of volunteers. Wherever possible, civil disobedience of salt laws should be started. These laws can be violated in three ways. It is an offence to manufacture salt wherever there are facilities for doing so. The possession and sale of contraband salt (which includes natural salt or salt earth) is also an offence. The purchasers of such salt will be equally guilty. To carry away the natural salt deposits on

the seashore is likewise a violation of law. So is the hawking of such salt. In short, you may choose anyone or all of these devices to break the salt monopoly.

We are, however, not to be content with this alone. Wherever there are Congress Committees, wherever there is no ban by the Congress and wherever the local workers have self-confidence, other suitable measures may be adopted. I prescribe only one condition, viz., let our pledge of truth and non-violence as the only means for the attainment of swaraj be faithfully kept. For the rest, everyone has a free hand. But that does not give a licence to all and sundry to carry on on their individual responsibility. Wherever there are local leaders, their orders should be obeyed by the people. Where there are no leaders and only a handful of men have faith in the programme, they may do what they can, if they have enough self-confidence. They have a right, nay, it is their duty, to do so. The history of the world is full of instances of men who rose to leadership by sheer force of self-confidence, bravery and tenacity. We too, if we sincerely aspire to swaraj and are impatient to attain it, should have similar self-confidence. Our ranks will swell and our hearts strengthen as the number of our arrests by Government increases.

Let nobody assume that after I am arrested there will be no one left to guide them. It is not I but Pandit Jawaharlal who is your guide. He has the capacity to lead. Though the fact is that those who have learnt the lesson of fearlessness and self-effacement need no leader, but if we lack these virtues, not even Jawaharlal will be able to produce them in us.

Much can be done in other ways besides these. Liquor and foreign-cloth shops can be picketed. We can refuse to pay taxes if we have the requisite strength. The lawyers can give up practice. The public can boycott the courts by refraining from litigation. Government servants can resign their posts. In the midst of the despair reigning all round people quake with fear of losing employment. Such men are unfit for swaraj. But why this despair? The number of Government servants in the country does not exceed a few hundred thousand. What about the rest? Where are they to go? Even free India will not be able to accommodate a greater number of public servants. A Collector then will not need the number of servants he has got today. He will be his own servant. How can a poor country like India afford to provide a Collector with separate servants for performing the duties of carrying his papers, sweeping, cooking, latrine-cleaning and letter-carrying? Our starving millions can by no means afford this enor-

mous expenditure. If, therefore, we are sensible enough, let us bid good-bye to Government employment, no matter if it is the post of a judge or a peon. It may be difficult for a judge to leave his job, but where is the difficulty in the case of a peon? He can earn his bread everywhere by honest manual labour. This is the easiest solution of the problem of freedom. Let all who are co-operating with the Government in one way or another, be it by paying taxes, keeping titles, or sending children to official schools, etc., withdraw their co-operation in all or as many ways as possible. One can devise other methods, too, of non-co-operating with the Government. And then there are women who can stand shoulder to shoulder with men in this struggle.

You may take it as my will. It was the only message that I desired to impart to you before starting on the march or for the jail. I wish there to be no suspension or abandonment of the war that commences tomorrow morning, or earlier if I am arrested before that time. I shall eagerly await the news that ten batches are ready as soon as my batch is arrested. I believe there are men in India to complete the work begun by me today. I have faith in the righteousness of our cause and the purity of our weapons. And where the means are clean, there God is undoubtedly present with His blessings. And where these three combine, there defeat is an impossibility. A satyagrahi, whether free or incarcerated, is ever victorious. He is vanquished only when he forsakes truth and non-violence and turns a deaf ear to the Inner Voice. If, therefore, there is such a thing as defeat for even a satyagrahi, he alone is the cause of it. God bless you all and keep off all obstacles from the path in the struggle that begins tomorrow. Let this be our prayer.

Young India, 20-3-1930

44. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

[*March 11, 1930*]

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

It is nearing 10 p.m. now. The air is thick with the rumour that I shall be arrested during the night. I have not wired to you especially because the correspondents submit their messages for approval and everybody is working at top speed. There was nothing special to wire about.

Things are developing extraordinarily well. Offers of volunteers are pouring in. The column will proceed with the march even

though I may be arrested. If I am not, you may expect wires from me; otherwise I am leaving instructions.

I do not know that I have anything in particular to say. I have written enough. I gave a final message this evening to a vast crowd that gathered for prayer on the sands.

May God keep you and give you strength to bear the burden.

With love to you all,

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, pp. 83-4

45. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

THE ASHRAM, SABARMATI,
March 11, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

This may be my last letter—before my arrest at any rate. Tomorrow I feel they are bound to arrest me. There are rumours also to this effect. I have received your letters. What reply can I give? Do whatever is possible. I am giving instructions that a copy of the *Gita* be sent to you. It is ready.

I have no time to write separately to Hemprabha Devi. May God grant you both the strength to give up all, the wisdom always to discern your duty and a long life for service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1636

46. TELEGRAM TO BHAWANIDAYAL SANNYASI[1]

[On or after *March 11, 1930*]

WISH YOU SUCCESS.

GANDHI

From a microfilm: S.N. 16668

[1] This was in reply to the addressee's telegram received on March 11, 1930, which read: "Accepted presidentship Shahabad District Congress. Starting satyagraha after your arrest. Send blessings."

47. *MESSAGE TO BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE*

[Before *March 12, 1930*]

I have the telegram of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee about Jamnalalji. I agree with the Committee that Jamnalalji's presence in Bombay at the present moment will be of greater benefit to the country than elsewhere. I have conferred with him and he has decided to give Bombay as much time as he can. I only hope that Bombay will make the fullest use of his presence and will take a leading part as has been its wont in the movement of emancipation. I hope that Bombay has fittingly celebrated Sardar Vallabhbhai's arrest.

The Bombay Chronicle, 13-3-1930

48. *SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL*

Sardar Vallabhbhai is the one man who has been responsible for keeping the peace in Gujarat during these troublous times. He is the man whose unique administration of the Ahmedabad Municipal Board drew unstinted praise from the Government. He is the man whose tireless energy put heart into the flood-stricken people of Gujarat in 1927 and when the Government machinery had broken down, his workers were responsible for saving the lives of thousands of people. It was Vallabhbhai Patel who waged a peaceful war in Bardoli the other day resulting in a settlement honourable to both the parties. This man of peace, this idol of the Gujaratis, their uncrowned king, is now a prisoner for disregarding a notice prohibiting speech when there was not even the remotest danger of breach of the peace. He had not gone, the authorities knew, for disobeying the provisions of the Salt Act. He had gone simply to prepare for my march. He had to be removed somehow or other. The Viceroy is sorry for my contemplated breach of the law. What is to be said of this act of corrupting and abusing the law, interfering with a man's liberty in the name of the law?

And where is Sardar living and how? He is in a common cell, unable to sleep in the open and without any light. He is given food which may induce dysentery to which he is prone.

He may not receive any but religious books. As a satyagrahi, he wants no special treatment. But why should the commonest felon be prevented, if he is no danger to safety, from sleeping under the sky in this hot weather? Why should a felon not be given light to read or write if he needs it? May not a murderer read and instruct himself? And why should Sardar Vallabhbhai not have food that his health demands? But this is a matter of prison reform. Sardar Vallabhbhai is not the man whose spirit will be broken, if he does not get the necessary creature comforts. Did not the learned journalist and dramatic author Sjt. Khadilkar have similar treatment only the other day? The spirit of satyagraha will not be broken by shabby treatment in the Indian prisons. Only let those who have faith in the proposed conference know what Dominion Status in action really means.

Gujarat, nay, India, is perparing to vindicate the authority of the supreme law which will supersede the utter lawlessness masquerading under the name of law. The authorities have imprisoned Vallabhbhai in the hope that his work will languish. Before long they will realize that his work will continue as if he were bodily in the midst of his people.

PS.

Information has just been received that Sardar is being better treated. He is to be allowed literature and the food he may need.

Young India, 12-3-1930

49. BEGGING THE QUESTION

Dear Mr. Gandhi,

His Excellency the Viceroy desires me to acknowledge your letter of the 2nd March. He regrets to learn that you contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace.

Yours very truly,
G. Cunningham
Private Secretary

The reader is familiar with this reply. He will note, too, that it begs the question; and if further justification were needed, this stereotyped reply affords it. On bended knees I asked for bread and I have received stone instead.

It was open to the Viceroy to disarm me by [illegible]ng the poor man's salt, tax on which costs him five annas per year or nearly

three days' income. I do not know outside India anyone who pays to the State Rs. 3 per year, if he earns Rs. 360 during that period. It was open to the Viceroy to do many other things except sending the usual reply. But the time is not yet. He represents a nation that does not easily give in, that does not easily repent. Entreaty never convinces it. It readily listens to physical force. It can witness with bated breath a boxing match for hours without fatigue. It can go mad over a football match in which there may be broken bones. It goes into ecstasies over blood-curdling accounts of war. It will listen also to mute resistless suffering. It will not part with the millions it annually drains from India in reply to any argument, however convincing. The Viceregal reply does not surprise me.

But I know that the salt tax has to go and many other things with it, if my letter means what it says. Time alone can show how much of it was meant.

The reply says I contemplate a course of action which is clearly bound to involve violation of the law and danger to the public peace. In spite of the forest of books containing rules and regulations, the only law that the nation knows is the will of the British administrators, the only public peace the nation knows is the peace of a public prison. India is one vast prison house. I repudiate this law and regard it as my sacred duty to break the mournful monotony of the compulsory peace that is choking the heart of the nation for want of free vent.

Young India, 12-3-1930

50. THE FOURFOLD CURSE

> The moral influence of British rule on personal character, on the position of women, in stimulation of public spirit, in the attitude to children and the poor and infirm, far outweighs the great material burdens imposed by it.

Thus writes the *Indian Daily Mail* of 7th March. I was unprepared for this defence of the British rule at this hour of the day. It reminds me of a learned Indian saying fifteen years ago, at a conference, that he was proud to own the British Tommy as his master as he owed all his knowledge to his British professors. A Governor and his wife were present at this conference. I hung my head in shame when I heard the learned sentiment and the vigorous clapping of it by the Governor's wife. One sees in the two sentiments quoted by me an exemplification of our cultural conquest which is worse than the material.

But for the cultural conquest, it must be the plainest thing to see that it is *not* the British rule but British contact that has exercised whatever moral influence we may feel. Surely the two things are different and may well be contradictory. British contact may be a godsend, British rule may be a curse. And we may have the one without the other. My description of the rule as a curse would be accurate even though a knowledge of the good influence of British contact might be present with me at the time of giving the description. Personally I dispute much of the glorification whether of the British contact or the British rule painted in the sentence quoted. Nor must it be forgotten that the masses are wholly untouched by the influence described by the writer. Is the doubtful character of the moral results on the educated few an ample or any compensation for the pauperization of millions? And what is this moral influence on the few educated among us? Are we more truthful, are we cleaner, are we more sober, are we more humane, are we braver than the masses? Are the wives of the educated few better off than those of the masses who fearlessly work in their fields without molestation from their husbands? Is our record about venereal diseases—that infallible index to the moral content of a human being—better than among the masses? Are we less selfish than they? What do we do for the poor and the infirm? How much do we set apart even from our superfluities for their sake? I need not prolong the agony. I fear that the confinement to the city life and the comparative ease that the city life has given us have made us too lazy and too indifferent to study the condition of rural India and to think for ourselves.

Nor do we fully realize the meaning of economic distress. It is below par in the sense that the distress has reduced man in India below his species. He is an underfed beast of burden in human form and is daily sinking. The money taken from him is never used for his betterment. He is untouched by any moral or other good influence.

But the article under consideration says that the Indian States are much worse. If they are, our thanks are again due to the British rule. The Princes have no incentive to be good, they are exposed to every temptation to 'go wrong'. They are more irresponsible than they were before. The ryots were once able to rise against Princely tyranny; now the Princes are protected by the awe-inspiring British power. It is true that they are free to do what good they like. But the hot-house culture which they are given from infancy has given them a taste for pleasures and pomp they will not forgo, and the seclusion which is imposed upon them

in childhood so isolates them from their people as to make them strangers in their own land. It speaks volumes for the ancient culture that in spite of every influence to the contrary, there are bright examples now and then to be seen. Remove the dead weight of the British rule which 'stunts' them and us, and they and we as independent parts of the same ancient land will grow as if by magic. But if they hug the golden chains that bind them to the British footstool, they are at liberty to hold on to the chains. India outside the States zone is awake and will bear the yoke no longer, even if it has to break in the attempt.

The exclusive stress in my letter to the Viceroy on the economic exploitation was inevitable for my purpose. But the moral and spiritual wrong which is a direct result of the foreign rule is probably greater even than the economic wrong. Those who are engaged in the war of independence are not, it is obvious, moved by the economic wrong. *They* do not *feel* it. *They* are moved solely by the moral and spiritual wrong which they feel in every fibre of their being. The degradation they scent in the air, the very knowledge that a whole continent of which they are children lies prostrate at the feet of a handful of men coming from a distant island fills them with horror and disgust with themselves. In their impatience to break through the snaky coil they do not mind what they do so long as they do something, even though it may destroy them. I claim to have presented India with a sovereign remedy for dealing effectively with the fourfold curse. The remedy is designed to free India and also Britain. It will not be long before her people will acknowledge that I am not their enemy. I claim to be their true and wise friend and an equally true and wise servant of India.

Young India, 12-3-1930

51. *MISREPRESENTATION*

Having lost caste with some Mussalmans, there are numerous misrepresentations about me to be seen in the Muslim Press. A friend has brought the latest to my notice. It is to the effect that I have prevented the Imam Saheb, an inmate of the Ashram and an honoured life co-worker, from joining the Ashram group of civil resisters, on the plea that he could not subscribe to non-violence as an article of faith for achieving the national purpose. The fact is quite the reverse. Imam Saheb's name is on my list. He gave it after full deliberation. I personally never had any difficulty about reading the message of non-violence in the Koran.

Imam Saheb is not joining the march as he is too weak to undertake the exertion. But it is quite likely that he may offer himself for arrest when the actual manufacture of contraband salt commences. Two Mussalmans are actually enlisted for the march, as they have no difficulty about subscribing to the creed of non-violence for the purpose of swaraj. Thus the insinuation referred to is baseless in two ways. But the moment there is suspicion about a person's motives, everything he does becomes tainted. The present plan of campaign is so designed as ultimately to dispel all suspicion.

Young India, 12-3-1930

52. *WHAT IT IS NOT*

Maulana Shaukat Ali is reported to have said that the independence movement is a movement not for swaraj but for Hindu Raj and against Mussalmans, that therefore the latter should leave it alone. On reading the report I wired to the Maulana inquiring whether he was correctly reported. He has kindly replied confirming the report. The Maulana has launched a grave charge against the movement. It needs to be repudiated once for all. Whatever the movement is, it certainly is not for Hindu Raj, nor is it against Mussalmans. It bears within itself a complete answer to the charge. The Congress has taken the first step in final non-co-operation. No Congressman can enter the legislatures, much less accept employment under the Government. No Congressman can seek or receive favours from the Government. Does not the Hindu-Muslim question centre round a division of political power—spoils of office? How can the movement be anti-Mussalman or for Hindu Raj when no one identified with it has the slightest notion, till independence is reached, of possessing any political power? True, the Congress has still left open the entrance to local boards. What is at present going on in Calcutta almost makes me think that instead of being weak, I should have pressed for the boycott even of these boards. The Congress is better without these temptations. They are just now mere snares for the unwary or the selfish rather than instruments of national service for the patriot. But I am sure the Maulana did not have the local boards in mind when he said that the movement was against Mussalmans. The only ground for the belief, in so far as I can fathom it, can be that those who are engaged in it must, by its very nature, become more self-reliant, more defiant and more capable of resisting any encroachment on their liberty than before, and that since the vast

majority of them are Hindus, they will in course of time become more powerful than the Mussalmans. But such reasoning would be unworthy of the brave Maulana I have known him to be. He must therefore explain to the public what he means by his serious charge.

I grant that if till the end of the chapter only Hindus join the movement in the right spirit, they will become an irresistible force of the right, i.e., non-violent type. But the obvious deduction from this fact is that all those who are keeping aloof should join the movement at the earliest moment. And I prophesy that, if the movement keeps the chalked path, the Maulana and the other Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, Jews, etc., will join it.

Surely all are equally interested in securing repeal of the salt tax. Do not all need and use salt equally? That is the one tax which is no respecter of persons.

Civil disobedience is a process of developing internal strength and therefore an organic growth. Resistance to the salt tax can hurt no single communal interest. On the contrary it must, if successful, help the abstainers equally with the participants.

As against this absolutely national method of gaining our end, put the unnatural, artificial and diplomatic method of a Round Table Conference in which conflicting interests will be represented by interested parties, and all the Indian groups together will be moved and dominated by the paramount and all-powerful British group. This conference without the power of the people behind it and composed of the powerful and the weak will bring anything but swaraj. In the existing circumstances therefore it can only result in further consolidating the British power.

Civil resisters can have nothing to do with such a conference. Their business is merely to generate and conserve national strength. They have nothing to do with communalism. But if they are compelled by force of circumstances to countenance a communal solution, they are pledged only to consider such as may be satisfactory to the parties concerned. How the Maulana can call such a movement anti-Muslim or one for obtaining Hindu Raj, passes comprehension.

The fact that those taking part in the movement are preponderatingly Hindus is unfortunately true. By proclaiming a boycott the Maulana is helping the process. Even so, there can be no harm, if the Hindu civil resisters are fighting not for themselves but for all —Muslims, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, and others who will make the nation of the future free India.

Not much imagination is required to see that even when civil resisters have acquired sufficient influence to make themselves felt,

it will still be open to anyone at the time of framing a constitution to block the way. The only time when abstainers, be they Mussalmans or Hindus or any other, will be helpless against the civil resisters is when they drive out the English or when the latter retire in a huff or in disgust. In the first place, however, they can never do this if their means are uniformly peaceful. Secondly, Mussalmans above all can help themselves and the nation by joining the struggle. Thirdly, if no violence on the part of the people is offered, civil resistance *must* result in complete conversion of the English. They will then consider it their duty, it will be their penance, to help us, at their own expense, to arrive at a solution of the many difficulties of which they will own themselves to have been the authors. They will help us as absolute equals and friends to inaugurate an independent organized government.

As for the irritation felt by the Maulana against me personally, I need not say much. Since I have no counter-irritation in me, I prophesy that when his temper has cooled down and when he discovers that I am not guilty of the many sins he imagines against me, he will restore me to 'his pocket' in which I had the honour to be only the other day as it were. For it is not I who have gone out of his pocket. He has thrown me out of it. I am the same little man that I used to be in 1921. I can never be an enemy of Mussalmans, no matter what any one or more of them may do to me or mine, even as I can never be an enemy of Englishmen, even though they may heap further wrongs upon the Everest of wrongs their representatives have already piled. I am too conscious of the imperfections of the species to which I belong to be irritated against any single member thereof. My remedy is to deal with the wrong wherever I see it, not to hurt the wrongdoer, even as I would not like to be hurt for the wrongs I continually do.

Young India, 12-3-1930

53. *A NEW ORIENTATION*

The discussion that has raged round the eleven points mentioned in my article[1] on the Viceregal address to the Assembly and my reference to some of them in my letter to the Viceroy shows how necessary it was to bring them out. Critics have said that these points fall far below even Dominon Status, not to speak of Independence. They could not have carefully read my article or

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLII, pp. 431-4.

my letter. If they will re-read them, they will find it stated therein that the conceding of those points was a preliminary to a conference about Independence.

Whilst therefore there is no substance in the criticism levelled against my presentation of the case, I am free to admit that I have endeavoured to give a new orientation to the national demand. Just as it was necessary in 1921 to keep the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs separate from swaraj and I used to say then that for me to have their redress purely through our effort was tantamount to swaraj, so has it become necessary for me on the eve of battle to lay stress on the eleven points and even to say that they are swaraj. For if they are not included in swaraj, it can have no meaning for the nation; and if we generate sufficient strength to gain those points, we have strength enough to gain an Independence Constitution.

Let me illustrate my point. There is the proposal for protecting the mill industry and at the same time of Imperial Preference. I call this a dangerous trap, especially when the expression Dominion Status is being bandied about in connection with the proposed Round Table Conference. If against the grant of Dominion Status or even Independence a stipulation is made that there should always be preference for British cloth, Dominion Status or Independence will have no meaning either for the millions or for the indigenous mills. There can never be preference for things British when India is capable of manufacturing them to the full extent of the demand thereof within her own borders. She may share foreign trade with others; she dare not share her inland trade with anybody so long as she is able to cope with it herself. Indeed she is entitled and it is her duty to protect growing industries against even a friendly England or any other friendly power. It would be wrong and unpatriotic for the mill-owners to fall into the trap laid for them. They should stoutly refuse to have anything to do with Imperial Preference for British cloth, even if they gain a prohibitive tariff against all other foreign cloth.

But to revert to my point. The new orientation consists in familiarizing the nation with the contents of Independence. It must know what it is to mean for the masses. There was much meaning in the circular letter of a Youth League recently criticized in these pages. The masses should know both what Independence will and will not mean for them. If the main features are not constantly kept in view and public opinion formulated, when the time comes, they are likely to be overlooked or even deliberately sacrificed. The controversy over public debt has now made it

impossible, I hope, for any representative to bind the nation to its payment without being satisfied that it was all incurred in the national interest. It is, I hope, impossible similarly to bind the nation in any future constitution to the high cost of civil and military expenditure. And so it may be said regarding all the illustrative points and many more that can be mentioned by me.

The plan therefore I have in mind is to concentrate the national attention on all these points one after another or simultaneously and demand relief preparatory to Independence.

This is the most expeditious plan, if Independence is to be achieved through peaceful means. Satyagraha works only in this manner. It arms people with power not to seize power but to convert the usurper to their own view till at last the usurper retires or sheds the vices of a usurper and becomes a mere instrument of service of those whom he has wronged. The mission of satyagrahis ends when they have shown the way to the nation to become conscious of the power lying latent in it.

Young India, 12-3-1930

54. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SABARMATI ASHRAM

[*March 12, 1930*][1]

God willing, we shall set out exactly at 6.30. Those joining the march should all be on the spot at 6.20. If our first step is pure, all our subsequent steps will be good and pure. As Manilal is joining us, I would say something for his benefit. He should not join just because he is my son though he cannot help being my son, nor can I forget that I am his father.

We who are setting out with a great responsibility on our heads—we the Ashram inmates—have but one capital. We can boast of no learning. We who took certain vows and pledged ourselves to the Ashram way of life ought to adhere to those vows scrupulously. The seventy-two[2] men joining the march should once again read the Ashram rules and think whether or not they should join the march. Those inmates of the Ashram who have any dependents will not be able to draw money from the Ashram for them. None should join the struggle with that

[1] The source does not mention the date. It is, however, apparent that this was delivered on the morning of the 12th before the beginning of the march.

[2] Actually seventy-eight; for a list of the names, *vide* Appendix II.

hope. This fight is no public show; it is the final struggle—a life-and-death struggle. If there are disturbances, we may even have to die at the hands of our own people. Even in that case, we shall have made our full contribution to the satyagraha struggle. We have constituted ourselves the custodians of Hindu-Muslim unity. We hope to become the representatives of the poorest of the poor, the lowest of the low and the weakest of the weak. If we do not have the strength for this, we should not join the struggle. For my part I have taken no pledge not to return here, but I do ask you to return here only as dead men or as winners of swaraj. Chhaganlal Joshi will not be able to run up here if Dhiru falls ill. Even if the Ashram is on fire, we will not return. Only those may join, who have no special duty to their relatives. The marchers have vowed to follow life-long poverty and to observe *brahmacharya* for life. They leave here with the determination to observe *brahmacharya* and will remain faithful to that determination. The man who always follows truth and always proclaims what he does is a brave man. Anyone who deceives others is not brave. I cannot speak to anyone privately for I have not a minute to spare. Though addressing myself to Manilal particularly, I say this to all.

We are entering upon a life-and-death struggle, a holy war; we are performing an all-embracing sacrifice in which we wish to offer ourselves as oblation. If you prove incapable, the shame will be mine, not yours. You too have in you the strength that God has given me. The Self in us all is one and the same. In me it has awakened; in others, it has awakened partially.

[From Gujarati]

From the manuscript of Mahadev Desai's Diary

55. *PARTING MESSAGE AT CHANDOLA*[1]

March 12, 1930

Your surpassing love for me has drawn you thus far. I appreciate your affection for me which has been so vividly demonstrated by you . . . There were rumours of my arrest last night.

[1] Gandhiji and party left Sabarmati Ashram at 6.30 a.m. followed by a huge procession. They reached Chandola lake at 8.30 a.m. after covering seven miles. Gandhiji addressed those who had come to see him off. The message has been extracted from a letter to the Editor by Haridas T. Majumdar who was among the volunteers marching with Gandhiji.

God is great, mysterious indeed are His ways. I am here to say good-bye to you. But even if I were in prison, with your strength I could come back. Indeed, it is your strength that will bring us swaraj. Go back and resolve to do your share. Propagate khaddar work, be prepared to offer yourselves as civil resisters. Let there be no flinching. Your way at present, however, lies homeward; mine straight on to the sea-coast. You cannot accompany me at present, but you will have an opportunity to accompany me in a different sense later. . . .

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-3-1930

56. *INTERVIEW TO HARIDAS T. MAJUMDAR*

ASLALI,
March 12, 1930

While he was having lunch, I asked our beloved captain if such an uninterrupted walk of over eleven miles did not tire him out.

I should not say I am very tired; to be sure, I am tired, but it is ordinary fatigue. I myself am amazed that I should have been able to walk so far at a stretch. You know I have had no practice for some time in long-distance walking. . . .

I asked him what he would like to say in regard to the parallel between the great march[1] of 3,000 men, women and children he had organized in South Africa and the present march to the sea-coast.

Well, the technique is the same even though the organization is different. Soul-force is the weapon common to both. In South Africa, however, there were 3,000 persons, here we are only 79. Again in South Africa we were in the midst of a hostile environment, social as well as political, and we had to carry our own foodstuffs with us; here we are in the midst of a hospitable environment and do not have to carry our food. The march in South Africa was attended by greater hardships than the present one.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-3-1930

[1] *Vide* Vol. XII.

57. SPEECH AT ASLALI

[*March 12, 1930*]

Do not be content with merely wearing khadi and plying the spinning-wheel, thinking that you have done all that you could do.

Take the case of your own village: For a population of 1,700, 850 maunds of salt will be required. For 200 bullocks, 300 maunds of salt will be required. That is, a total of 1,150 maunds of salt will be required.

The Government levies a tax of Rs. 1-4 on one pukka maund of salt. Hence, on 1,150 maunds, which is equal to 575 pukka maunds, you pay a tax of Rs. 720.

A bullock must be given two maunds of salt. In addition, there are 800 cows, buffaloes and calves in your village. If you give them salt, or if the tanner uses salt for treating hides, or if you use salt as manure, you would be paying that amount of tax in excess of Rs. 720.

Can your village afford to pay this amount in taxes every year? In India, the average income of an individual is calculated at 7 pice or, in other words, hundreds of thousands of persons do not earn even a single pice and either die of starvation or live by begging. Even they cannot do without salt. What will be the plight of such persons if they can get no salt or get it at too high a price?

Salt, which sells at 9 pies a maund in the Punjab, salt of which heaps and heaps are being made on the coast of Kathiawar and Gujarat, cannot be had by the poor at less than Re. 1-8-0 a maund. What curses the Government may not be inviting upon itself from the poor for hiring men to throw this salt into mud!

The poor destitute villagers do not have the strength to get this tax repealed. We want to develop this strength.

A democratic State is one which has authority to abolish a tax which does not deserve to be paid. It is one in which the people can determine when a certain thing should or should not be paid.

We, however, do not possess such authority. Likewise, even our supposedly great representatives do not have it. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Pandit Malaviya said that the manner in

which Sardar Vallabhbhai was arrested could not be called just; that it was unjust and high-handed. And this resolution was supported by Mr. Jinnah. To this the Government official replied that their magistrate had acted in a manner which befitted a loyal subject, if he had acted otherwise, he would have been regarded as a traitor. If, however, that is the case, this bearded person (Abbas Saheb) and I should also be arrested, because I on my part openly make speeches about preparing salt.

We want to establish a government which will be unable to arrest a single individual against the wishes of the people, which cannot extract ghee worth even a quarter pice from us, cannot take away our carts, cannot extort money from us.

There are two ways of establishing such a government: that of the big stick or violence and that of non-violence or civil disobedience. We have chosen the second alternative, regarding it as our dharma. And it is because of this that we have set out to prepare salt after serving notice on the Government to that effect.

I can understand there being a tax on such things as the hookah, *bidis* and liquor. And if I were an emperor, I would levy with your permission a tax of one pie on every *bidi*. And if *bidis* are found too expensive, those addicted to them may give them up. But should one levy a tax on salt?

Such taxes should now be repealed. We should make a resolve that we shall prepare salt, eat it, sell it to the people and, while doing so, court imprisonment, if necessary. If, out of Gujarat's population of 90 lakhs, we leave out women and children, and the remaining 30 lakhs get ready to violate the salt tax, the Government does not have enough accommodation in jails to house so many people. Of course, the Government can also beat up and shoot down those who violate the law. But the governments of today are unable to go to this extent. We, however, are determined to let the Government kill us if it wishes.

The salt tax must be repealed now. The fact that a sea of humanity had gathered and showered blessings upon us—for a distance of seven miles from the Ashram to the Chandola lake — a sight for the gods to see — that is a good omen. And, if we climb even one step, we shall readily be able to climb the other steps leading to the palace of Independence.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-3-1930

58. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
[After *March 12, 1930*]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letters. Find some work for Ranchhodbhai. It can be manual labour. If you can find even some teaching work discuss the matter with him and fix it up.

In this weather Punjabhai can sleep outside. If he does that, mosquitoes at any rate will not bite him.

Blessings from
BAPU

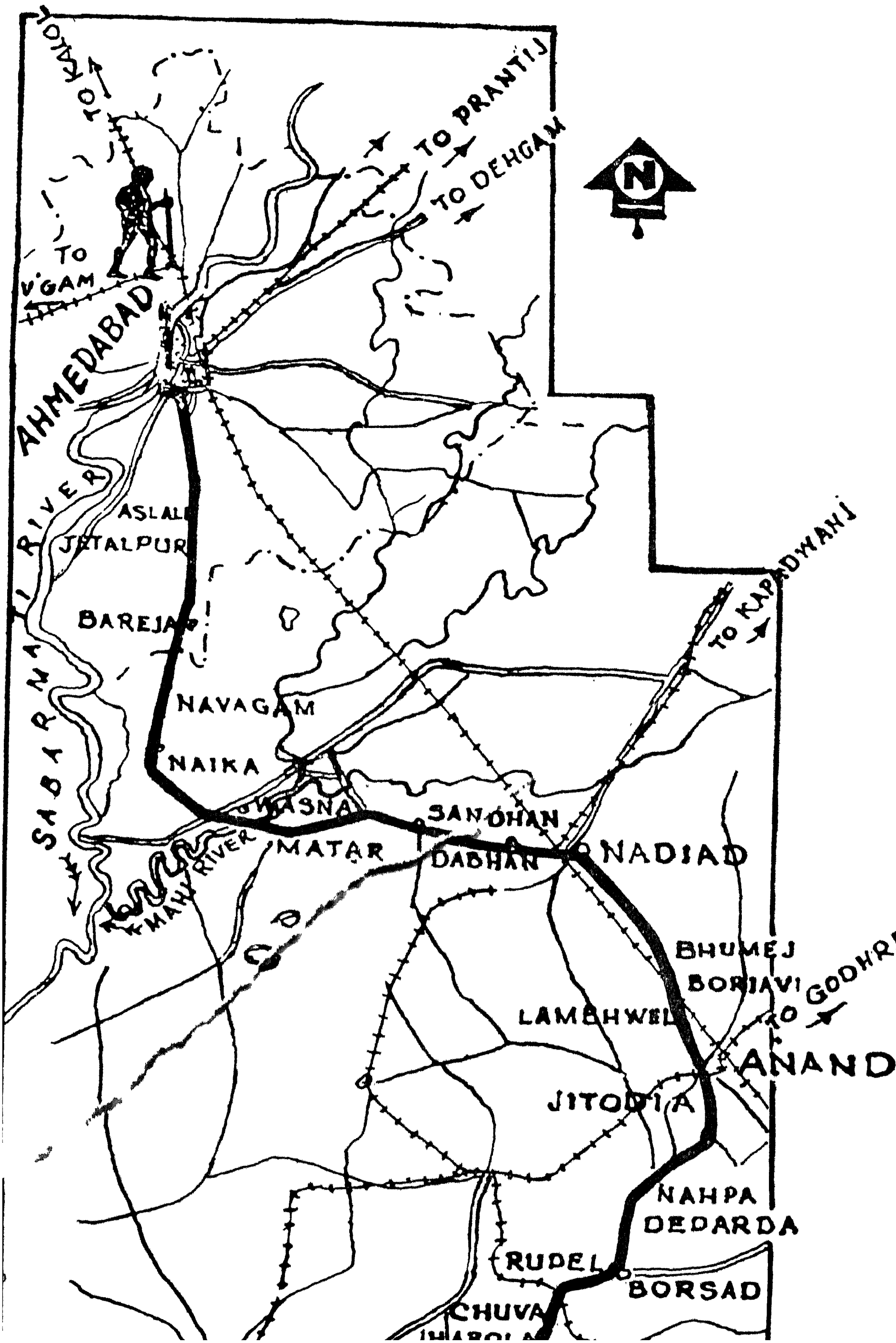
From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8091. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

59. HINDI IN BENGAL AND ASSAM

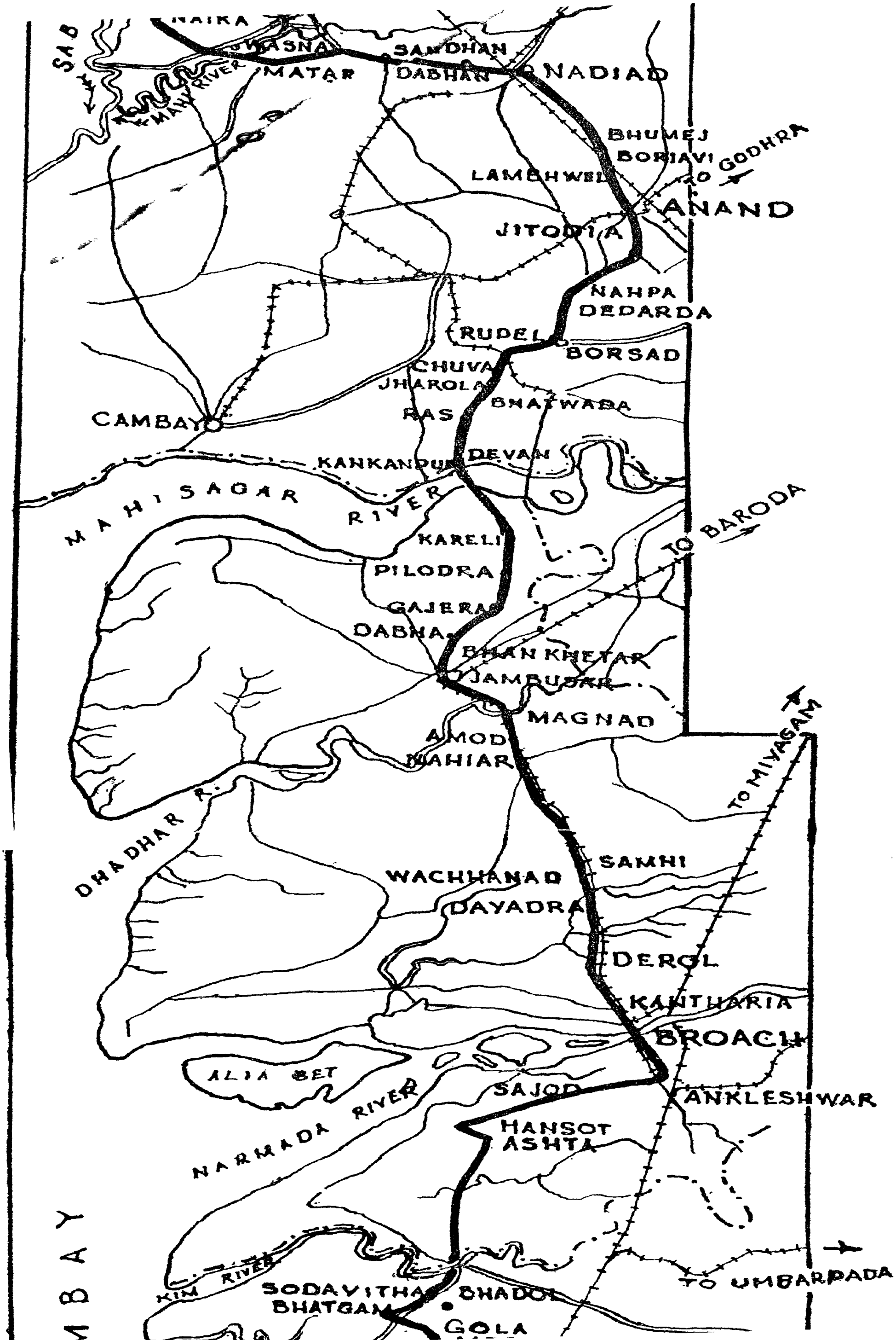
Teachers know that in 1928 a society for the spread of Hindi was formed in Calcutta. The treasurer of the society was Shri Ghanshyamdas Birla. I have received a statement of the working of this society and a statement of accounts. I give the following facts[1] from the statement of its working.

From this it is apparent that the work is progressing in some measure. There is much room for expanding this work. An effort is being made to meet the expenses of each school with local help, which is praiseworthy. Only thus can success be achieved. The start may well be made with the main centre but ultimately all local work should become self-supporting. Only then will the publicity work widen and take on a permanent shape. Bengal and Assam are two places where thousands of people can be taught Hindi. This work is already divided into two parts. The first is instruction and the second is expansion of this work by lectures arranged by local branches. There is need for a third part; and that is revision of the methods of making instruction easy. Competent and resourceful teachers are daily in search of means to make this work of instruction yield quick results. Many Bengali and Assamese words resemble Hindi. Books to make this

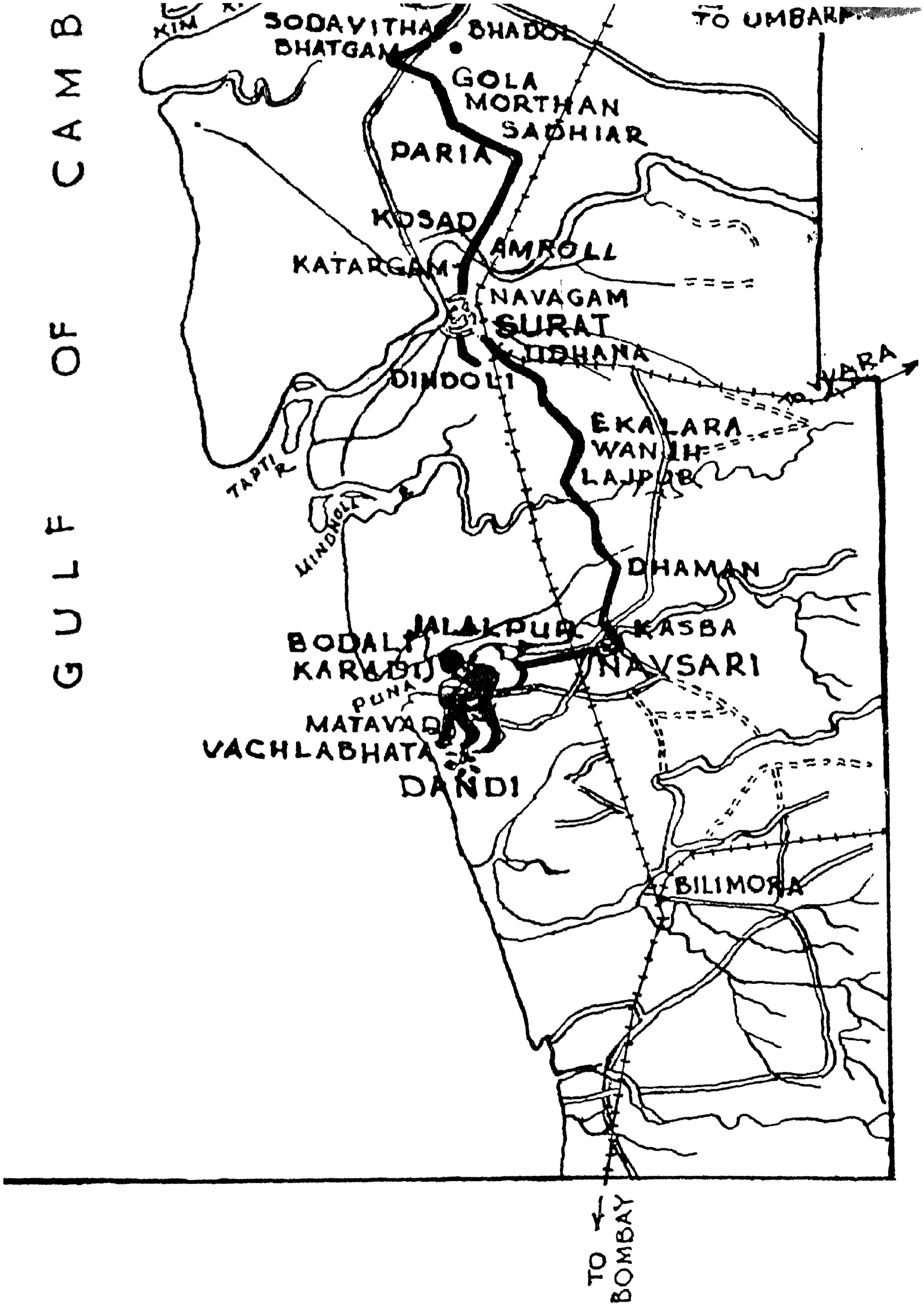
[1] Not translated here



TO KALOL
TO PRANTIJ
TO DEHGAM
TO V'GAM
AHMEDABAD
SABARMATI RIVER
ASLALI
JETALPUR
BAREJA
NAVAGAM
NAIKA
VASNA
SANDHAN
MATAR
DABHAN
NADIAD
MAHI RIVER
TO KAPADWANJ
BHUMEJ
BORJAVI
TO GODHRA
LAMBHWEL
ANAND
JITODIA
NAHPA
DEDARDA
RUDEL
BORSAD
CHUVA



NAIKA
SAB
WASNA
SANDHAN
MATAR
DABHAN
NADIAD
MAHI RIVER
BHUMEJ
BORIAVI
TO GODHRA
LAMBHWEL
ANAND
JITODIA
NAHPA
DEDARDA
RUDEL
BORSAD
CHUVA
JHAROLA
BHATWADA
RAS
CAMBAY
KANKANPUR
DEVAN
MAHISAGAR RIVER
KARELI
TO BARODA
PILODRA
GAJERA
DABHA
BHAN KHETAR
JAMBUSAR
MAGNAD
AMOD
NAHIAR
TO MIYAGAM
DHADHAR R.
SAMHI
WACHHANAD
DAYADRA
DEROL
KANTHARIA
BROACH
ALIA BET
SAJOD
ANKLESHWAR
NARMADA RIVER
HANSOT
ASHTA
MBAY
KIM RIVER
TO UMBARPADA
SODAVITHA
BHADOL
BHATGAM
GOLA



ROUTE MAP OF DANDI MARCH

fact known should be written, pocket-size Hindi-Bengali and Bengali-Hindi dictionaries should be prepared, Bengali books in Devnagari script and Hindi books in Bengali script should be published. Such books can pay their way as has been shown in Madras. When the books are really useful and good they gain value and they become popular.

One word more. Bengal is a big centre of Marwari traders. The task of spreading Hindi in Bengal is a special responsibility of these traders. So, there should be no hitch in this work for want of funds.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 13-3-1930

60. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 13, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Whilst there is time, you should write and that fully or as fully as time permits. Yesterday's demonstration was a triumph of non-violence. I know it won't be everywhere and always like that during the struggle, but it was a great and good beginning.

You will be patient, anxious for nothing, charitable towards those who do not do as you would have them do. Your central work is women and children.

See that Reginald takes care of himself and is not rash.

Everything must be in an apple-pie order.

Your diary will be fully kept.

And you will not be anxious about me. He will keep me fit so long as He needs me.

With love,

BAPU

From the original: C. W. 5426. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9660

61. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

March 13, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I hope you received what might have been my last letter[1]. The news given to me of my impending arrest was said to be absolutely authentic. But we have reached the second stage safely. We take the third tonight. I am sending you the programme[2]. All the friends are most particular that I should not go to Ahmedabad for the Working Committee. There is considerable force in the suggestion. The Working Committee may, therefore, come to the place where we may be for the day or you alone may come. The sentiment that we won't voluntarily go back without finishing the struggle is being well cultivated. My going back will mar it a bit. Jamnalalji told me he had written to you about it. I hope Kamla is keeping well.

I asked yesterday that full wires should be sent to you.

Yours sincerely,
BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 84

62. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

March 13, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Take care of yourself. Besides looking after *Young India*, do please identify yourself with the activities of the Ashram. I am anxious for it to become an abode of peace, purity and strength. You I hold to be a gift from God for the advancement of that work.

Yours,
BAPU

From a photostat: C. W. 5431. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

[1] *Vide* pp. 48-9.

[2] Not available; *vide*, however, p. 33.

63. LETTER TO GANGABEHN ZAVERI

March 13, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN ZAVERI,

I believe you have joined the common kitchen now. Will you also stay in the Hostel? Nanibehn should live only on milk and fruit. If she does that, she will be all right.

This is a rare opportunity for women. I think it will be a great achievement on their part if they assume the entire burden of the internal management of the Ashram.

I have no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3099

64. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

March 13, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

You are certainly mad, but your madness endears you to me. You have been working with greater devotion than I had expected from you and God keeps you in good health. Never be impatient. Try to speak less loudly. If you do so, you will not aggravate the condition of the tonsils.

Tell Kusum that something still remains to be done about her tongue, and that the doctor should attend to it at his leisure.

Write to me. I have no time to write more.

BAPU

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro – 5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, pp. 8-9

65. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

March 13, 1930

CHI. KUSUM[1],

I have your letter. I should have got it yesterday, but Pyarelal forgot to put it up to me and it came into my hand just as I was finishing a letter to Ba.

You have done very well in deciding to move to the Hostel.

Now persuade Dudhibehn to do the same. If, instead of living in a separate room, she went to live in the Hostel, it would be possible to look after her. See that Sarojini works. Do not hesitate to talk to her plainly about it. Get Shantu's[2] teeth examined by Haribhai[3]. Give me reports about all who are ill. Do not neglect to maintain your diary. Study the *Gita* carefully. Clear the Gujarati file. Give me your daily programme of work. I cannot say when I shall be arrested. They may arrest me whenever they wish. In any case, you should write to me regularly. For one day more a car will come from there[4]. Try once again to write about Haribhai[5]. Do not give up the effort in despair.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1792

66. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

March 13, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I did get your letter. God will grant you everything. We may take it the Ashram has done well so far. But there is scope

[1] Kusum Desai used to act as Secretary of the Ashram in the absence of male inmates.

[2] A trainee of the Charkha Sangh

[3] Dr. H. M. Desai of Ahmedabad

[4] Ahmedabad

[5] Haribhai Desai, the deceased husband of the addressee. The reference is to his biography that she was intending to write.

for much further awakening still. Let us not feel elated too soon. If I remain free, you should certainly take the plunge. I want an account of the good or the harm which the fast may have done Durga.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I had intended to write a separate letter to her, but have dropped the idea.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11471

67. SPEECH AT BAREJA

March 13, 1930

This is our second halt after the march began. As at our first halt, here too I was given the required information about this village. I was pained to read it. It is strange that a place so near Ahmedabad has zeroes against the columns for consumption of khadi, the number of habitual khadi-wearers and spinning-wheels at work. During my tours of North and South India, I used to follow a rule, namely, that the barber cutting my hair should be a khadi-wearer. But here you keep yourselves far away from such a thing as khadi. Khadi is the foundation of our freedom struggle. All like khadi, but people are nowadays deterred by the fear that those wearing khadi will have to go to jail and die. Bareja has not a single khadi-wearer, which is indeed a very painful fact. There is a khadi store here and you can certainly remove this blot. We do not disown our mother because she is fat or ugly to look at and adopt another woman, more beautiful, to fill her place. Foreign cloth will never bring us freedom. I request you to renounce luxuries and buy khadi from this heap before you.

At present Sardar is in jail, and I have come here to ask you to join in our common struggle for freedom. Think over the matter and get ready to join. The state of our villages is pitiable in various ways. With the help of these soldiers of freedom, you will be able to make your village clean. It does not take much time to do so. Diligence and care are all that is necessary. The people of this place number twenty-five hundred. If you so resolve, you can make the village beautiful and have as many amenities as you choose. By doing so, you will help agriculture here and also add to your strength. The education imparted in present-day schools

is, according to me, no education at all. The village has a large number of Christians and Muslims also. If you all come together, you will be able to achieve much for the village. For winning complete freedom, all these communities will have to unite.

As for the Bhangis, you believe that they are the scum of the earth. We do nothing at all for their betterment. We only lower ourselves by believing them to be of low birth.

Now, having said this, let me turn to other things. We have come forward to win our freedom from this tyrannical and oppressive Government. If we cannot put our own house in order in an organized manner, how shall we run the country's Government? I ask you, therefore, to learn order and organization. Think of cow-protection also. In this band marching with me, there are experts on animal husbandry who will be able to help you. Introducing improvements by slow degrees, you can solve the question of cow-protection. Do think about these things. This struggle against the Government on which we have embarked is not going to reach its conclusion with five, or twenty-five, or even millions of men getting killed. We have to look after these other things also simultaneously.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 16-3-1930

68. SPEECH AT NAVAGAM

March 13, 1930

As I enter the Kheda District, memories—some sweet, some bitter—fill the mind. It was while working in the Kheda District that I became one with the lives of people. I have seen nearly all the villages here. I covered many of them on foot. I have come to Navagam in the middle of a battle. This is our third halt: Aslali was the first, Bareja was the second and Navagam now is the third. Vallabhbhai had great expectations of the Kheda District. Having been arrested in this district, he has won glory for himself.

The Government found some pretext or other to arrest Vallabhbhai. It knew well that his, and not the Government's, writ would prevail in Kheda if he was free. Pressure was brought to bear on the Magistrate somehow to serve a notice on Sardar, and he was arrested. What could a poor Magistrate do where the entire atmosphere is vitiated? We do not yet have the neces-

sary spirit of self-sacrifice and the necessary self-confidence for anyone of us to tell the Government that he could not issue such a notice. What does it matter that a person receives salary from the Government? And, moreover, who pays that salary? Who am I to explain to the Magistrate that it is God who does that? How can I do it? To the Magistrate the Government is God, the protector, and everything.

The Patidars and the Dharalas, the two principal communities of the Kheda District, are both courageous. What will they do to fight this Government? Before I ask the question, I have to congratulate you all. All the Matadars here have shown great courage in my presence and stated that they would not accept the Headman's office, with the result that the latter has now resigned. I congratulate you on your resignations. If you have been offering resignations under pressure from anyone, I must ask you to withdraw them. Not only will that cause me no pain, but I will protect you against those who might try to force you to resign. This fight is based on truth. I want no victory with unworthy help.

It is after many days and nights of heart-searching that I have decided to stake my life on this last struggle, and to take my co-workers with me so that they, too, may sacrifice their lives. I depend on truth alone for winning this war. I shall be happy if I have your support in that. It will make no difference to me even if you do not resign.

When we win swaraj, even a scavenger will be free to take Vallabhbhai to task. When he was in jail Vallabhbhai used to ask whom he could fight when all officials from the peon upward were Indians. You should remember this. With the present Government might is right. But, against me, its guns and gunpowder are no more than dust or pebbles. Your present duty is to show the Government your strength through your work.

Be true to your word, Headman and Matadars, if you are bent on winning complete independence. You should remember and act upon Tulsidas's words:

> "The way of the Raghus it has been ever,
> Life may be lost but a pledge never."

Before all these present here I remind you of this. Listen to me and, if you so feel, admit truthfully that you do not have the strength to resign. The people of the Kheda District have bathed me in their love. No resident of this district should first give me a promise and then stab me in the back.

I shall regard you as brave men if you truthfully withdraw your resignations, and also if you truthfully adhere to them.[1]

In the present struggle, which we have started to establish *Ramarajya*, both the poor and the rich are ready to give me monetary help, but I look up to the people for strengthening me. You will have redoubled my strength when, following me, you come forward to manufacture salt. By leading you along my path, I wish to bring glory to one and all among us. I may ask for your resignations or for money from you; but for the present I am asking for soldiers for this fight. Civil disobedience of the salt law is within the power of all—men and women, young and old.

I have gone through the figures regarding Navagam. In the population numbering a thousand, only one person is a habitual khadi-wearer and there is just one spinning-wheel to swear by. I ask you now to take a vow to produce and wear khadi. That way you will save Rs. 5,000 a year. By working at the spinning-wheel, women too will be adding to their power greatly.

Remember that in the resignations you have handed in I see God's hand. The Kheda District has made an auspicious beginning. I have embarked on this last struggle of my life because God wishes to make me His instrument for this work. The life of this skeleton which is addressing you is God, and it does whatever good He desires. Let us now part with Ramanama on our lips.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 16-3-1930

69. *TALK TO PRESS REPRESENTATIVES*[2]

NAVAGAM,
March 14, 1930

I wish to offer some consolation to the Press representatives present here. I am responsible for the hardships caused by the application of Ashram rules. I have been asking for alms from the people, though I have no right to demand any. Hence, I cannot permit everybody to accompany me and live on the alms. We do need the help of newspapers. But this struggle is a unique one. If they

[1] At this stage the Headman and the Matadars explained how they had resigned of their own free will, and the Headman presented Rs. 125 to Gandhiji on behalf of the village.

[2] Given at the end of the morning prayer meeting

have respect for the movement they may help it. No one need write anything for my sake. They may criticize me. From the village people I receive food in measured quantities and no one can accept more than what the rule permits. I request the Ashram inmates and the Press representatives that if they need any item in excess of what is permitted by the rule, they may get it only with my permission. In the last analysis, even the Press representatives have come for public service, have they not?

Hundreds of thousands will follow this batch of seventy-eight in whatever they do. People will criticize us if we do not cultivate self-sacrifice. If the people feel the slightest distrust of us, they will condemn the whole movement. We have, therefore, to treat them with love, not force. The mountain is an assemblage of earth particles sticking together. Similarly, all great accomplishments in the world are the result of homogeneous effort. When the effort is heterogeneous the result is quite different. Because the river Ganga has the power to sanctify all waters, it absorbs all impurity within itself.

If the satyagrahis follow truth in carrying on this struggle, they will show, not merely to India but to the whole world, that ours is a holy war. My speech yesterday was also in the nature of a prayer to all.

People fall ill through their own negligence. The rule for one who falls ill is that he should be left where he falls ill. I am indeed sorry that I cannot try to meet you all. I ask you, therefore, to come and see me when you need to consult me. The burden of work on me is too heavy to leave me time to see you.

It is my advice to you that no person should come here without special permission. Only after obtaining previous permission may anyone accompany this batch. Those who desire to come here and see what is happening should rather stay where they are and do their duty there. They should persuade everyone to offer civil disobedience and offer it themselves.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 16-3-1930

70. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

March 14, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I want a full account of the arrangements made for you. Send me your daily programme of work and also tell me about your health. Let me know whether or not you can clearly understand the translation of the *Gita*. Read it with great care. Do you enjoy complete peace of mind?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

My blessings to Kamla. What work does she do?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9281

71. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

March 14, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

I don't know how to compliment you as well as you deserve. I had observed your strength of character even when I first saw you before you were married. But the strength which you have actually revealed has surpassed my expectation. If you cannot keep your peace of mind there, you may go to Akola without any hesitation. But I should certainly like you to remain there if you can be tranquil and if you and Sita can keep good health, for the Ashram is at present the best school for women. You will not get at any other time the experience you are getting there just now. I am sure you will not worry about Manilal. God has given him a strong physique. And he is all simplicity of heart. Nothing makes him unhappy. There is no limit to his courage. How can such a person suffer? He has been looking after me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4765

72. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

March 14, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

If Krishnakumari's eyes are sore, get them examined by Haribhai. Tell Chandrakanta that I expect much from her. Get Shantu's teeth examined by Haribhai and ask him to remove the loose ones. Send me a report about Dhiru and about anybody else who may be ill.

Send me your daily programme of work. Do you have a separate room to yourself? How do you feel there?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1793

73. SPEECH AT VASANA[1]

March 14, 1930

You have all given us an excellent reception. You have seen to it that there is nothing wanting. You have raised this pandal and erected a cottage for me, which I very much like. I am glad that you have arranged things as I had wanted them. But a doubt lingers in my mind about this village, and as a satyagrahi I should tell you the thought that occurs to me. Of course it is not practical wisdom in a man to speak out all that he thinks. Still, for my part, I regard myself a very practical man. One should have nothing to do with the practical wisdom which goes against the world's welfare. My co-workers or I have lost nothing through this attitude of mine. I wonder if you thought that, since there were five *Antyajas*, and possibly some Muslims, accompanying me on this campaign, it would be best to lodge me and my party outside the village. I hope you have not been clever and thus quietly avoided trouble. I first asked people to inquire about this, but subsequently decided to put the question to the meeting here. I am determined to reach Jalalpur, having given you all that I have. Those accompanying me are only students. A true student always

[1] The meeting was held at 3 p.m.

hungers for knowledge, which he seeks to garner with the world as his school and with nature and mankind as his books. Many saints were illiterate, but they had trained themselves in the art of thinking and so they were students. I even sent some students to inspect the *Antyaja* locality here.

This fight is based on truth and non-violence and, therefore, we are true satyagrahis. And I ask you to believe me when I prophesy that a day will come when the British will apologize to us. Shri Vallabhbhai turned nights into days and rendered help to the British. He served the people, and the Government is repaying him now by arresting and removing him away from us. I tell you, though the Government has been able to imprison for the present a man like Vallabhbhai it will have to apologize to him. Of course he does not care that he has been arrested. To me, he was my hands and feet. Had he not worked and prepared the ground here in this district, I could not have mustered the courage to speak these few words before you.

What is going to be your reply to the salt law? All of you have to reform yourselves and offer a fight to the Government. We can prepare ourselves to win complete freedom by serving our *Antyaja* brethren. I should be happy if my doubt about your village is ill-founded. May you serve one and all without exception. Abolition of the salt tax or remission of some other taxes will not mean swaraj for us. Winning swaraj is not going to be so easy as that. That is only a way to it and by following it we shall reach the goal of freedom.

It is indeed a good thing that the Headmen of Navagam, Vavdi, Agam, Mahelaj and other villages have tendered their resignations. Why should they stick to Headmanship for the mere five rupees a month that the Government pays them? If the Collector summons a Headman, let him say, "Give us back our Sardar. Grant us a remission in land revenue." To give up Government service is to exorcise an evil spirit haunting the home. In resigning his job, your Headman has done a meritorious deed. When we have a people's Government, we shall see what to do. Satyagraha means disobedience to every law of the Government. Disobedience of the salt law is one item of such satyagraha. Such disobedience is our duty; it is our right. In the fight for that right, I need your help, not in the form of money but of volunteers to break the law.

The next item on my programme is khadi. How shameful that your village shows a zero against the columns for the number of spinning-wheels and khadi-wearers! If you have not been

wearing khadi hitherto, wake up and begin now. I appeal to you to help our poor country by using khadi. It is my wish that there should be none among you who does not wear khadi. I earnestly ask you to be dressed in khadi clothes. For women, spinning used to be a *yajna*. There were five such *yajnas*. The first was the kitchen fire. Performing that *yajna*, my mother set apart a *go-grasa*, a morsel for the cow. The second was the quern, the third was the broom, the fourth the spinning-wheel and the fifth was fetching water. Now all these *yajnas* are on the wane, because selfishness has crept in among us. If you wish to follow the path of dharma, start again the spinning-wheel sacrifice and follow the good sense that God has bestowed on you.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 16-3-1930

74. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

ON THE DANDI MARCH,
March 15, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Credit to the *Navajivan* account the money which you are receiving.

I am writing to Mathew. That is how he always works. Unless he is able to fix his attention, he is of no service even in the G.S.S.[1]

Ask Prabhudas to write to me. So far I have experienced no difficulty in walking.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8090. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Gandhi Seva Sangh

75. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

[*March 15, 1930*][1]

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

It pained me to have to use harsh words with you, but it had to be done, as I wished to remove your pusillanimity. Unless you are determined and firm in your purpose, your energies cannot be fully utilized. Tenderness of heart is essential, but for true tenderness determination is even more essential. Thereby family ties are purified, and delusion is overcome. You must also give up your desire to meet me. Whatever I could give you I have already given. A time will come when you too will have to go to jail like so many of us, but for the present your work is your prison. Therefore do not leave Vijapur unless it is on important business. Improve your health, and continue to render whatever help you can.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2377

76. SPEECH AT DABHAN

[*March 15, 1930*]

I have come to know that a Headman, a Matadar and a watchman of Kanakapura have submitted their resignations. I hope that you have handed in those resignations willingly and that none of you will yield if any of the officials intimidates you and that you would not, seeking pardon, withdraw them. When we have once taken a vow, we shall not withdraw them even if we die.[2]

Your Headman has submitted his resignation but his old uncle has registered himself as a volunteer. It is not that only young people can join this struggle. This is a religious as also a non-violent struggle and even children can take part in it. The names of some women have also been received by me. I have received names even of children below the age of fifteen and I do not hesitate to mention them.

[1] The date is from *At the Feet of Bapu*, p. 58.

[2] This and the following three paragraphs have been taken from *Prajabandhu*, 16-3-1930.

I have received names of many more old men also and they say that it is better to die in jail than outside it, but only out of thoughtfulness I do not take them along with me. On reaching Dandi, we shall call them first and send them first to jail.

I hope that the Headmen and Matadars from the neighbouring villages also will send in their resignations.

Although we claim to practise cow-protection, we should now call it buffalo-protection or service to buffaloes. In this town of Dabhan, there are three hundred buffaloes as against three cows. This suggests that we are ignorant of animal husbandry. In this district, it is difficult to obtain cow's milk or ghee for sick persons or for those who have taken the vow to serve only the cow. *Goseva* does not mean saving the cows from Muslims or Englishmen—this amounts to cow-slaughter. That is a misinterpretation of the term *goseva*.[1]

The number of cows sent to Australia to be slaughtered is a hundred times the number that are slaughtered in India by the Muslims. If you desire to see to it that cows are not exported abroad, you should all train yourselves in animal husbandry and act in accordance with that science.

I do not recall the taste of buffalo's milk. Hence I cannot distinguish it from cow's milk. However, doctors have testified that buffalo's milk and ghee are not as nourishing as those of the cow and Europeans do not even touch the milk of the buffalo.

Ours is a holy war. It is a non-violent struggle. Even women and children can take part in it. The soldiers of satyagraha will never do what the ordinary soldiers do. Your village consumes 800 maunds of salt a year, and thus pays money to the Government without reason. The Government appropriates to itself all the taxes you pay without making any return to you. We wish to throw off that burden and hence we demand complete freedom. If you feel strong enough, give up Government jobs, enlist yourselves as soldiers in this salt satyagraha, burn your foreign cloth and wear khadi. Give up liquor. There are many things within your power through which you can secure the keys which will open the gates of freedom.[2]

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 16-3-1930, *Navajivan*, 30-3-1930, and *Gujarati*, 23-3-1930

[1] This and the following two paragraphs have been extracted from "Swaraj Gita", *Navajivan*, 30-3-1930.

[2] This has been taken from *Gujarati*, 23-3-1930.

77. SPEECH AT NADIAD

March 15, 1930

I have visited Nadiad often and made many speeches here, but never before did I see such a huge mass of men. Bound by the chains of slavery, we are being crushed at present, and we want to shake them off. I am sure you have come here today not for my sake or for the sake of my troop of eighty, but because you hunger for complete freedom. Since I left Ahmedabad, on my way here large numbers have showered their blessings on me and my mission. The showers have swelled into a flood, as it were. You, too, are witnessing the same thing.

Vallabhbhai's services to Kheda District have been many and various. At the time of the floods he saved thousands of men. That Vallabhbhai is now behind the prison bars. I too have done some work in this district. You have, therefore, a threefold duty to discharge. The imprisonment of Vallabhbhai is your imprisonment. Arresting him in Kheda is arresting Kheda itself. Of course by imprisoning Vallabhbhai the Government has honoured him, but you it has insulted. What is to be your reply to this insult? Your reply can only be winning complete freedom. How could you do that? Only by following my path. That is as clear as the rule of three.

I wish all Government servants to give up their jobs. What is Government service worth after all? A Government job gives you the power to tyrannize over others. And what do you earn in the job? By dint of independent labour a man can earn thousands if he chooses to do so. The local Headman has resigned his post. But is that enough? Nadiad produced Govardhanram and Manilal Nabhubhai. It has been a city of men of letters. Are there any heirs of these learned men now? What is the duty of the students in this city of learned men? And the duty of their sisters and mothers? It is up to you all to give a reply to these questions. You all have to enlist yourselves as volunteers. As soon as I get behind the bars or as soon as the All-India Congress Committee gives a call, you should come forward to offer yourselves for being jailed. Then alone shall I believe that Nadiad has made its contribution to our struggle.

Nadiad is thirty-one thousand strong. You spend three hundred and ten thousand rupees on cloth year after year. Instead of letting this wealth flow out of the city, what a gain it will be if you keep it in your homes! You will then have obeyed the most beautiful law of nature. That is the simple calculation I ask the heirs of Govardhanram and Manilal to make. If they do not do so, they would be bringing disgrace on the good name of Nadiad. Will not Nadiad, the pride of Gujarat, do even this much? May God grant you the strength to do it.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 23-3-1930

78. LETTER TO DURGA GIRI[1]

[On or after *March 15, 1930*][2]

CHI. DURGA,

I have your beautiful letter written in a beautiful hand. What you write about Mahavir is correct. He who regards all as equals wins. Kaka's Shankar too has joined the caravan. Immerse yourself fully in works of service. Do not be lazy about anything. We are all well here. Tell Maitri not to be indolent in the least. Does she dip her hands in potassium permanganate solution? She must observe restraint in her diet.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Bapuki Virat Vatsalta, pp. 30-1

[1] The text of the original, which is in Gujarati, is not available.

[2] Shankar, D. B. Kalelkar's son mentioned in the letter, joined the Dandi March on this day.

79. WE ARE ALL ONE

God is present in all of us. For my part, every moment I experience the truth that though many we are all one. He does not reveal Himself in the same form in all of us, or rather the hearts of all of us not being alike we do not see Him in the same form—just as in mirrors of different colours and shapes a thing is reflected in different colours and shapes.

From this it follows that the sin of one is the sin of all. And hence it is not up to us to destroy the evil-doer. We should, on the contrary, suffer for him. From this thought was born the idea of satyagraha and of civil disobedience of law. Criminal, violent or uncivil disobedience is sin and ought to be abjured. Non-violent disobedience can be a holy duty. It is with this thought that Deenabandhu Andrews has often said that he is doing atonement on behalf of the English, that Mirabai has come to live in the Ashram and that Reginald Reynolds is staying in the Ashram.

Shri Khadgabahadur Giri is known to all. He killed a man for committing adultery and then surrendered himself to the police. This friend had lived in the Ashram for some time. In his statement to the court he described himself as a believer in the principles of the Ashram. Though I could not understand his meaning, I was not prepared to examine his action. This led many to write strong letters to me, but I did not reply to them and I remained silent, as I did not think it my duty to pronounce an opinion. Now this friend has come to join in the present pilgrimage. Missing his train, he arrived a day late. Now, since he cannot join unless he has my permission, he has had to stay back at the Ashram. I believe that the struggle which is in the offing should be started only by those who observe the principles of the Ashram. I have, therefore, written to him: "You may come if you accept the principles of the Ashram as binding on you."

This account, however, is irrelevant to the present article. It has been given merely to introduce Shri Khadgabahadur. The reason for publishing his name is that he, too, has come to do atonement for the sins of others. He has given his reason for insisting on being included in the very first batch as under:[1]

[1] The letter is not translated here.

The Mahavir mentioned in this letter is the son of the late Dalbahadur Giri. Following the line of thinking in the extract above, Dalbahadur Giri himself had joined the Non-co-operation movement in 1921 and also suffered imprisonment. When he came out of jail he had been suffering from severe dysentery, which proved fatal. He had advised his wife to go and live in the Ashram. The widow communicated her resolve to come and stay in the Ashram. I had known Dalbahadur Giri. I could not disregard his death-bed wish, and the wish of his wife. I thought it my duty to respect it. This widowed mother encouraged her son to join the present struggle. The boy is being brought up at the Ashram for the last nine years. As Mahavir's guardian, I also permitted him to join. Such boys as had completed fifteen years of age had the permission to join if they so wished. Mahavir has joined the struggle of his free will and with the blessings of his elders. My experience of him has been a sweet one.

These facts will probably enable the reader to see the struggle in a better light. He will also have a better understanding of what satyagraha means. The whole conception rests on unbounded faith in the unfailing power of non-violence. The satyagrahi always acts in the spirit of atonement. He believes that he shares in the sins of the ruler or the ruled. He regards himself also as a sinner. One is certainly a sinner as long as the possibility of sin remains in one. One is guilty of passion if one has potentiality for passion.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-3-1930

80. THE DEPARTURE

Thousands of Ahmedabad citizens, both men and women, kept vigil on the night of the 11th. Thousands flocked to the Ashram. One heard rumours all through the night. "Here is some news," someone with a grave face twice whispered into my ear! "Reliable news has been received that a special train is arriving this evening and will take you away to be borne to Mandalay." As it is the same to me whether I am in jail or outside, the news had no effect on me and I went to bed in perfect peace. But the sight of the mill-workers and mill-owners around me could not but make me happy. Though eagerly expected, "they" did not come, and at the appointed hour and minute God gave us the send-off. We walked on between rows of people who had come to see us set out, the rows extending to as far as the Chandola

lake. I can never forget the scene. For me, this was the form in which God's blessing descended on me. In the face of such a spectacle, how could I believe that there was no prospect of success in this struggle? Both the rich and the poor were present in proportion to their numbers in the population. If the spectacle has any meaning, it is this, at any rate, that all people want freedom and they want it through peaceful means. In the eyes of men lining the road from the Ashram to Ellis Bridge I saw not poison but nectar. I saw in their eyes no anger against British rule or rulers, but I saw there the joy born of the confidence that complete freedom was now at hand.

The authorities on their part had acted wisely. Not one policeman was to be seen. What business could the police have where people had come together for a festive occasion? What would the police do there?

May the self-confidence displayed by the citizens of Ahmedabad last for ever! Let that confidence spread all over the country, and complete freedom will be ours without much effort. If such freedom is our birthright, how much time should we need to win that right? To breathe is my birthright, and breathing therefore proceeds with ease. It is the long history of slavery that has given us the illusion that slavery is our natural state. The truth is that it is not the natural state of any man whatever. If three hundred million men and women are determined to win freedom, you may take it that it is theirs. The scene on the 12th was a sign of that determination.

But I am not a man to be easily taken in by appearances. All over the world, the common mass of men move like sheep following one another. It was so on the 12th too. Many had come out just because others had done so. For many others, this coming out for the festival was the beginning and the end of their self-sacrifice. If that was the truth, their coming out was no sign of the approach of freedom. If a hundred thousand men oppress three hundred million and the latter come together to struggle to get rid of the oppression, they will win their freedom from slavery with very little effort and sacrifice. But some sacrifice there has to be. Winning freedom is not child's play. It requires the labour of thoughtful men, so that if the three hundred million would not become khadi-wearers, at any rate three million must come forward to offer civil disobedience. If many join in this sacrifice for swaraj they would share the labour. If the number of such people is small, they will have to bear a greater burden, for the labour needed for winning freedom will always be the

same. The only question, therefore, is who should bear this burden and how. The immediate burden of bringing success to the present march falls on the Gujaratis. Bringing success to the march does not mean only providing regular meals and rendering other services to the party. The mahajans at the various places are doing that with love. To bring success to the march means men and women coming out in large numbers to join the struggle. People should get ready for civil disobedience of the salt law as soon as the marching party reaches Jalalpur. Every village should get ready its own quota of civil law-breakers so that at the proper time they plunge into the fight.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-3-1930

81. "BHAGAVAD GITA" OR "ANASAKTIYOGA"

It is more than forty years since I have been reading, pondering and following the *Gita*. Friends expressed a desire that I should put before the Gujaratis my understanding of that work. I embarked on translating it. From the point of view of scholarship my qualifications for attempting the translation would seem to be nil, but as one following its teaching I may be considered to be fairly well qualified. The translation has now been published.[1] Many editions of the *Gita* carry the Sanskrit text also. It has been intentionally left out in this one. I would like it if all knew Sanskrit, but all will never learn Sanskrit. Moreover, many cheap editions with Sanskrit are available. I, therefore, decided to leave out the Sanskrit text and reduce both the size and the price. This edition has 19 pages of introduction and 187 pages of translation so that it can be easily carried in one's pocket. Ten thousand copies have been printed. My aspiration is that every Gujarati will read this *Gita*, ponder it and practise its teaching. An easy way to ponder it is to try and understand the meaning without referring to the Sanskrit text and then to conduct oneself accordingly. For example, those who interpret the teaching of the *Gita* to mean that one ought to kill the wicked without making a distinction between one's kinsmen and others, should kill their parents or other relatives if they are wicked. In practice, they will not be able to do so. Naturally, then, it would occur to the reader that where destruction is prescribed the work contemplates some

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLI.

other form of destruction. Almost every page of the *Gita* advises us not to make a distinction between our own people and others. How is this to be done? Reflection will lead us to the conclusion that we should perform all our acts in a spirit of non-attachment. In the very first chapter we find Arjuna facing the troublesome question of one's own people and others. In every chapter the *Gita* brings out how such a distinction is false and harmful. I have called the *Gita Anasaktiyoga*. The interested reader will be able to learn from the work what that is, how non-attachment is to be cultivated, what its characteristics are, etc. Trying as I do to live according to the teaching of the *Gita*, I could not avoid the present struggle. As a friend says in his telegram to me, this is a holy war for me. It is a happy augury for me that this book is being published just as the holy war is entering its last phase in the form of the present struggle.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 16-3-1930

82. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

March 16, 1930

DEAR BHRR,[1]

What a joy to have received your letter! Of course, you must take rest. Sardar has filled me with many anecdotes about you and now Mahadev has come in to give us the latest. I am glad this time you have not brought any illness with you. Can't afford to think of you as an old man in spite of the whiteness of your ample beard. Mahadev tells me you can dance. I feel like asking for a short leave to come and see you dance. But that cannot be. I am, therefore, imagining all sorts of movements. You should be put with the Poet!!!

Love from us all.

Yours ever,
M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9569

[1] This was a form of greeting used between Gandhiji and the addressee.

83. *LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT*

March 16, 1930

CHI. VASUMATI,

I have your letter. Restrain your desire to come and see me. If, despite your best efforts, you cannot do that there is no harm in coming. Keep in mind the condition that you should take proper care of your health while working. You will not get such an opportunity again. You should, therefore, preserve your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9282

84. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

ON THE DANDI MARCH,
Sunday [*March 16, 1930*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I get your letters. I send with this a letter on the Bank. If it does not serve your purpose, please let me know.

I have asked those three gentlemen from Madras and the two from Bengal to return. They do feel sorry. If you see them repenting when they arrive there and if they are keen on joining the Ashram again, take them back. There is no harm in doing so if they are real workers. But I do not wish to interfere with your management, and that is why I refused to give them any letter.

How is Purushottam keeping? Cannot Keshu lead the recitation of the *Gita*? He can sing the *bhajans* too. If he does not agree, in any case Premabehn is there.

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] From the enquiries about Purushottam's health and arrangements regarding recitation of the *Gita* and *bhajans*, this appears to have been written on the first of the three Sundays during the Dandi March.

[PS.]

Enclosed with this is a letter written by Jamna, which seems to have been sent to me by mistake.

BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8092. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

85. *SPEECH AT BORIAVI*

March 16, 1930

In this peaceful struggle there is no room for coercion of any kind. We will coerce no Englishmen nor any of our countrymen. I do not want anyone to resign under compulsion. Resignations tendered under duress or in awe of somebody ought to be withdrawn. They have jailed your Sardar, that is, they have taken from you swaraj itself. We must get him released from prison and, you will have proved your strength if you can see to it that he is out in one month instead of after three. After Vallabhbhai is released, take care that you do not apologize and withdraw your resignations. You can withdraw the resignations and become Headmen again only when we get control of the Government.

If you drink liquor, tea, etc., and still think that Gandhi who has gone to battle with his band will bring you swaraj, you are making a mistake. Gandhi will leave for ever and his troop will be lost in the sea. Swaraj can be won only if you all take up constructive work. Those of you who do not enlist as soldiers of swaraj should at least wear khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 23-3-1930

86. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

March 17, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter and the flowers that were struggling to find me out. My fatigue so far seems to be health-giving. For it enables me to take milk twice instead of once and plenty of fruit. Today the fatigue of the past five days made me sleep five times during the day. I hope to find myself thoroughly fit to undertake the ensuing week's march or whatever else may be in store for me. So you will not worry about me.

I see you are now finding yourself there. The struggle has been a veritable godsend for all of us. It is, as it should be, a process of cleansing. Let us never be slack.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5427. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9661

87. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

ANAND,
March 17, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I saw in the newspapers that Bengal has appointed you dictator. Is it true? If true, have you been appointed by both the factions or only one? Whatever it may be, I know that your love will put everything right. Only yesterday Panditji[1] gave us a song in the prayer meeting which can be translated thus: "The way of love is like the purifying flame." When true love is born it destroys all impurities. Your job is the hardest of all, I realize. Your penance of eight years will give you wisdom and strength. May God give you and Hemprabha Devi a long life.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1616

[1] Narayan Moreshwar Khare

88. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

ANAND,
Silence Day [*March 17, 1930*][1]

O PARSI LADY,

There is no limit to your cunning. You seem to be preparing an alibi in advance. If parents lift you up, haven't they the right to throw you down? And why do you believe that I have lifted you up in order that I may afterwards throw you down? Why did I have Chapter XII [of the *Gita*] read out on the day of your marriage? If you believe that you do not possess the virtues I attribute to you, you should pray to God to grant them to you. But your uncle calls you Dhairyamata[2]. What do you say to that?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4766

89. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

ANAND,
Silence Day [*March 17, 1930*][3]

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter. What you say about a house is quite correct. But your duty was to move into the Hostel, and it was good that you did so. We should love what is good for us. Work as much as you like, but preserve your health. And be sure that you write to me from time to time.

The secretaryship still clings to you. When you get time, clear up everything. Don't worry about me. I know that I have

[1] From the contents the letter seems to have been written in 1930. In that year, Gandhiji was at Anand on this date.

[2] Literally, "Mother of Courage"; the addressee's daughter was named Dhairyabala.

[3] The reference to the addressee moving into the Ashram Hostel suggests that this was written in 1930.

made you unhappy, but I don't feel sorry that I have done so. Who else could have that privilege?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1794

90. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

Silence Day, March 17, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have had no letter from you for some time. It was expected that I would be arrested on the 12th itself. Now six days have passed, and since it is Monday today I have sat down to write this letter. Though I have been walking a great deal, I have kept fine till now. You must be reading the accounts in the papers. Hence I do not write anything about it here, nor have I the time to do so. If you like, you may show the accompanying letter to Jayaprakash, and if he permits, inform Father and go to the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Mahadev came a moment ago and read out your letter. I felt happy. If you can come, please do.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3361

91. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

Silence Day [March 17, 1930][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter.

The fact that people still come presents a very difficult problem. Keep those who work. Those who do not work should immediately leave.

I certainly like your going to the common kitchen for your meals. But give your body the food which it requires and pre-

[1] Sumangalprakash was left behind at Anand where Gandhiji was on March 17, 1930.

serve its health. You seem to me to be a follower of the *Gita* and I believe, therefore, that the burden of your happiness and welfare will be borne by God.

Kevalram's wife may certainly come. Illness dogs us here too. Three persons are ill. Sumangalprakash has a mild attack of measles. I will leave him here.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Has Purushottam left? If so, who conducts the prayers? I suppose you know how to do that? Do not forget that Keshu also is an expert. No burden should be put on Prabhudas.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8094. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

92. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Silence Day [March 17, 1930][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN (SENIOR),

I have your letter. You will always be doing good, doing service. Lakshmibehn came and told me something. As you know, I could not spare time to ask her for more details. Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8743. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

93. LETTER TO JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

ANAND,
March 17, 1930

CHI. JAYAPRAKASH,

Nowhere else have I observed such zeal for sacrifice as has been displayed by the Ashram women. At present the women are to a great extent managing the internal affairs of the Ashram. The chance of acquiring such experience will never be repeated. I would therefore advise you to send Prabhavati there. After my arrest the Ashram women too will court imprisonment. I think

[1] The source bears the date March 20, 1930 in the addressee's hand which could be the date of receipt. The preceding Monday was March 17.

Prabhavati should join them. She is worthy in every respect. I hope your work is proceeding well.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 3362

94. SPEECH AT ANAND

March 17, 1930

You have just heard Panditji sing that the path of love is like a flame. A satygrahi's path is the path of love, not one of enmity. It should be the ambition of a satyagrahi to win over even the most hard-hearted of enemies through love.

How can one demonstrate that there is nothing but love underlying civil disobedience? Pritam must have had a direct experience of this, as a result of which this *bhajan* poured forth from his heart.

Ill feeling perhaps could be compared to fire. How could that be said of love? Whereas ill feeling burns others, love burns oneself and purifies the other person. When love assumes this intense form, it may well appear to some as fire, but you may be sure that in the end it will make its cooling effect known. This band of satyagrahis which has set out is not staging a play; its effect will not be merely temporary; even through death, it will prove true to its pledge — if death becomes necessary. The Government will, in the end, have to admit that these persons practising satyagraha were devotees of truth and non-violence. Nothing will be better than if this band of satyagrahis perishes. If the satyagrahis meet with death, it will put a seal upon their claim. None of us can assert today whether we have the strength to die a satyagrahi's death. To stab someone in the abdomen in a fit of rage or to die harbouring anger in heart, but keeping up an appearance of non-violence through shame is not to die a satyagrahi's death.

Not only should there be no anger within one's heart at the time of death, but on the contrary, one should feel and pray: 'May good befall him who kills me!' When anyone meets death in such a manner, I would call it a satyagrahi's death and only in such a death would the dying person be considered to have been true to his pledge. Even with regard to myself I

cannot give any assurance today. It is only others who can judge a person by this test after his death.

Here in Anand, you have Narsinhbhai's hut. Anand is the educational centre of the Patidars. Kheda district is the home town of the Patidars, of Vallabhbhai, of Motibhai Amin, and of the volunteers of the Charotar Education Society. Where can I give expression to the feelings within me if not before such an audience? I have come to you filled with great expectations.

I have asserted at many places that this time I have not set out to beg for funds. I know how to do that. This struggle is not one based on money. It is going to be carried on without it. In a trice this morning, the yarn merchants of Bombay presented me with Rs. 2,501. The Diamond Association has sent me Rs. 2,000. Moreover, if I make even a feeble appeal for funds, Gujarat and India would shower money upon me; I would be buried under its weight and would be unable even to reach Jalalpur.

I have come to ask for a big contribution. In your hands lies the honour of the Patidars of Charotar. You are like salt in the sea of Patidars. If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? Salt is more sapid than either sugar or jaggery. The latter may even cause jaundice, whereas a pinch of salt adds flavour to the meal. If Anand gives up its savour, if courage and such other virtues which have been attributed to the Patidars are not displayed in Anand at this juncture, where else can one see them?

You must have understood the reason for this introduction. Are the students of Anand and Kheda district going to sit down with their books, or will they follow the lead that has been given by the Vidyapith? We have already received a return with interest for the 2½ lakhs of rupees spent by Dr. Mehta for the Vidyapith and contributions made by other well-wishers. Today the Vidyapith has wound up its book-learning and has proved its motto: That is learning which liberates.

All the students who have entered their sixteenth year have united in giving up their studies, and the teachers too have joined them. What more can be expected of a place where all the students as well as the teachers obtain cent per cent marks? Why do you also not adopt this path?

It is my hope that Gujarat will set an object-lesson to the rest of the country. One cannot say yet whether the fight will be a prolonged one or will end quickly. If, however, we have sacrificed our all in the movement, we should not worry about whether it will be long or short.

I have a right to entertain such hopes of the Patidars of Kheda district. They have been giving me hopes ever since my South Africa days. Kheda district has a population of seven lakhs which includes our Thakore brethren. If the Patidars show the way, the Garasias are bound to follow them. Has not Tulsidas said that base metal shines at the touch of the *parasmani*[1].

You students must suspend your studies for as long as this struggle continues. At this time, I recall the words of the late Deshbandhu. He was unhappy about non-co-operation in schools. He used to say that we should certainly call out students when the time came for the final struggle but that we should leave them alone at the moment. I did not agree, and he joined in the boycott of schools. But these words were uttered in 1920. Not five, but ten years have elapsed since then. The final battle has to be waged. Hence there is no reason why students should now remain in schools.

Today I am not asking for preparing one battlefield only. Today, everyone from Kanyakumari to Kashmir and from Karachi to Dibrugarh will be able to practise non-co-operation either individually or collectively.

Until last December, I felt that the atmosphere was not favourable for civil disobedience and I said what I felt. I now claim that if ever the circumstances were opportune, they are today. This is the auspicious moment. If at this auspicious time we do not develop the strength for civil disobedience we shall never do so.

What student is he who will continue to study at such a time? Formerly, I asked the students to leave schools and to set up naticnal schools. Today I ask them to leave schools and come out on the battlefield and become mendicants for the sake of the country. If a business man continues to carry on his business today, he will not enhance his prestige. If India wishes to launch satyagraha on a wide scale, this is the time when it should do so.

God will provide food and drink; countless people will provide it. If there is a flare-up in the entire country, and if the whole of India starts practising civil disobedience, how long will it take for 30 crores of people to free themselves from the grip—the domination — of a hundred thousand Britishers? School children will work this out by the rule of three.

The army consists of 70 thousand Britishers and others including Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas and Marathas. This army is sitting astride both our shoulders; although it may be stationed in Meerut

[1] Philosophers' stone

and other cantonments, we see nothing else behind the laws that suppress us. The British make us dance to their tune on the strength of the backing of this army.

Please remember again I am not asking you to give up your studies for good, but only to give up book-learning while the struggle lasts. It is up to you whether it will be a protracted one or not. Youth leagues—that is you students—proclaim many big things. This year our Congress President is a young man who rides a horse. Hence a large part of the burden of this struggle is to be borne by you students.

May God give you inner strength. This is not a question of utilizing your intellect. If something has to be made convincing through the use of the intellect, it can be set out in the same manner as a proposition of geometry with a Q.E.D. at the end of it. However, here the intellect becomes helpless if there is no strength of heart. The intellect is a handmaid of the heart.

I am helpless, however, if you feel at heart that this man has only begun a stunt, that at the end of a month he will call the thing off saying he has committed a Himalayan blunder and withdraw quietly to the banks of Sabarmati. If, however, you do not believe this to be the case, rest assured that so far as you and I are concerned this is indeed the final struggle and the means to be adopted are peaceful, involving civil disobedience and so on.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-3-1930

95. *TALK TO VOLUNTEERS*[1]

March 17, 1930

Ours is a sacred pilgrimage and we should be able to account for every minute of our time. Let those who cannot finish their quota or do not find time to spin or to write up their diaries see me. I shall discuss the thing with them. There must be something wrong about their time-table and I should help them to readjust it. We should be resourceful enough to do all our daily duties without the march coming in our way. I dare say we are not hardy enough for a strenuous trek, and I am, therefore, providing for a weekly day of rest. But I should listen to no proposal for the relaxation of the regular discipline of the Ashram.

[1] Extracted from an account by Mahadev Desai

I repeat that ours is a sacred pilgrimage, and self-examination and self-purification are essentials which we cannot do without. The diary is a great help in this matter. This regular spinning, counting the yards spun each day, the daily diary — all these things were thought out by me in the Yeravda Jail, and for us whose ambition it is to lay the foundation of the edifice of swaraj, inasmuch as ours will be the first sacrificial offering, it should be as unsullied as possible. Those who follow us may dispense with the rigid discipline we are going through, but for us there is no escape. That rigorous self-discipline will generate in us a force which will enable us to retain what we have won. It is the natural result of active non-violence and should stand us in good stead after swaraj. It is hardly likely that when we are imprisoned, we shall all be kept together. Therefore if our life is well-regulated from now, we should not have the slightest difficulty in going regularly through our daily task.

Young India, 20-3-1930

96. *SPEECH TO SATYAGRAHIS*[1]

[After *March 17, 1930*][2]

It is possible that what you say is true.[3] If you regard the rules burdensome, they are so. However, in this matter, the condition was laid down before we set out that only those who were prepared to shoulder this burden should join the march. Hence, these rules cannot now be relaxed. It is only through total adherence to these rules that any massive strength can be generated. The inner, spiritual rules have a greater effect than the external and material factors. Such is the idea behind this march. In this struggle we are attempting to eradicate the pervading violence by means of non-violence and in it we need humility as much as determination and courage. So long as we are arrogant, so long as we try to progress through our own efforts, we are bound to fail. So long as the elephant relied on

[1] This has been extracted from "Dharma Yatra".

[2] This speech was delivered after one of the satyagrahis had had an attack of smallpox and had to be left behind at Anand, where Gandhiji was on March 16 and 17.

[3] There had been illness and drop-outs among the satyagrahis and it had been suggested that perhaps the harshness of rules was to some extent to blame for it.

his own strength, it did him no good. This demonstrates a fundamental principle.

Do we not find that those amongst us who appeared to be weak are hale and hearty today, while those who appeared to be strong are bed-ridden? When a man gives up his arrogance and becomes humble like dust, only then is the power of non-violence awakened in him and the divine strength becomes his. Hence we should all become fully devoted to our duties. We should pray to God that He alone do everything. In this manner, if the eighty persons who have set out become like ciphers, our task will certainly be accomplished.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

97. A GREAT SEER

NAPA,
March 18, 1930

Kavi Rajchandra was born in a place called Vavania in Kathiawar. I came in touch with him in 1891, the day of my return from London, at Dr. P. J. Mehta's residence in Bombay. Kavi, as I used to call him, was nearly related to Dr. Mehta. He was introduced to me as a *shatavadhani*, i.e., one who can remember a hundred things at a time. Kavi was quite young at the time, not much older than I was then, i.e., 21 years. He had, however, given up all public exhibition of his powers and was given to purely religious pursuits. I was much struck by his simplicity and independence of judgment. He was free from all touch of blind orthodoxy. What struck me perhaps more was his combining business with religion in practice. A student of the philosophy of religion, he tried to practise what he believed. Himself a Jain, his toleration of the other creeds was remarkable. He had a chance of going to England for studies, but he would not go. He would not learn English. His schooling was quite elementary. But he was a genius. He knew Sanskrit, Magadhi and, I believe, Pali. He was a voracious reader of religious literature and had acquired through Gujarati sources a knowledge, enough for his purpose, of Islam, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. Such was the man who captivated my heart in religious matters as no other man has till now. I have said elsewhere that in moulding my inner life Tolstoy and Ruskin vied with Kavi. But

Kavi's influence was undoubtedly deeper if only because I had come in closest personal touch with him. His judgment appealed to my moral sense in the vast majority of cases. The bedrock of his faith was unquestionably ahimsa. His ahimsa was not of the crude type we witness today among its so-called votaries who confine their attention merely to the saving of aged cattle and insect life. His ahimsa, if it included the tiniest insect, also covered the whole of humanity.

Yet I never could regard Kavi as a perfect man. But of all the men I knew he appeared to me to be nearer perfection than the rest. Alas! he died all too young (thirty-three years) when he felt that he was surely going to see truth face to face. He has many worshippers but not as many followers. His writings, largely consisting of soulful letters to inquirers, have been collected and published. An attempt is being made to have them translated in Hindi. I know that they would bear an English translation. They are largely based on inward experience.

Modern Review, June 1930

98. LETTER TO RAMANAND CHATTERJEE

BORSAD,
March 18, 1930

DEAR RAMANAND BABU,

Under great stress I was able today to scribble the enclosed[1]. You may do what you like with it. I hope you are giving the movement your unreserved support and blessing.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 9287. Courtesy: Sita Devi

[1] *Vide* the preceding item.

99. SPEECH AT BORSAD

March 18, 1930

At one time I was wholly loyal to the Empire and taught others to be loyal. I sang "God Save the King" with zest and taught my friends and relations to do so. Finally, however, the scales fell from my eyes, and the spell broke. I realized that the Empire did not deserve loyalty. I felt that it deserved sedition. Hence I have made sedition my dharma. I try to explain it to others that while sedition is our dharma, to be loyal is a sin. To be loyal to this Government, that is to say to wish it well, is as good as wishing ill of the crores of people of India. We get nothing in return for the crores of rupees that are squeezed out of the country; if we get anything, it is the rags from Lancashire. To approve the policy of this Government is to commit treason against the poor. You should free yourselves from this latter offence. I believe I have done so. Hence I have become ready to wage a peaceful war against this Government. I am commencing it by violating the salt law. It is for this purpose that I am undertaking this march. At every place, thousands of men and women have conferred their blessings upon it. These blessings are not showered on me but on the struggle.

Our patience has been severely tried. We must free ourselves from the yoke of this Government and we are prepared to undergo any hardships that we may have to suffer in order to secure swaraj. It is our duty as well as our right to secure swaraj.

I regard this as a religious movement since sedition is our dharma. Every moment I desire the end of the policies of this Government. I have no desire to touch even a single hair of our rulers. But we certainly shall not bow down to them. Kindly, therefore, become conscious of your responsibilities and wash away your sins against India. Today we are defying the salt law. Tomorrow we shall have to consign other laws to the waste-paper basket. Doing so we shall practise such severe non-co-operation that finally it will not be possible for the administration to be carried on at all. Let the Government then, to carry on its rule, use guns against us, send us to prison, hang us. But how many can be given such punishment? Try and calculate how much time it will take a lakh of Britishers to hang thirty crores of persons.

But they are not so cruel. They are human beings like us and perhaps we would be doing the same things that they are doing if we had been in their position. Man does not have the strength to fight circumstances; the latter mould his actions. Hence I do not feel that they are to be blamed for this. But I find their policy so bitter, that I would destroy it today if I could. It will be destroyed regardless of whether I am put behind the bars or allowed to remain free. I breathe here before you and with every breath that I take, I desire this very thing. I am fully convinced that there is nothing base in it. I act exactly as I believe.

No one has been able to reply to the complaint I have registered before God and mentioned in my letter to the Viceroy. No one says that the salt tax is just. No one says that the expenditure on the army and the administration is justified. No one holds that the policy of collecting land revenue is justifiable, nor indeed that it is proper to extort 20 to 25 crores of rupees from the people after making drunkards and opium-addicts of them and breaking up their homes. Both foreigners and British officers testify to the fact that all this is true. However, what can be done about it? Money is required. For what purpose is it required? In order to repress the people.

Recently the Government has appointed all police officers above the rank of constables as officers dealing with salt. As a result of the authority vested in him, even a policeman can arrest me and perpetrate any indignity on me that he likes; if he fails to arrest me he would be guilty of the offence of cowardice. Here we find this offence of cowardice which does not exist in any other Act of the Government. Any constable who sees us making salt, who sees us heating a pan of salt water, can arrest us, snatch away the pan and throw away the water. What can he feel in throwing away the salt? In Lansundra near Kapadvanj there is a mound of salt, which has been covered with dust. Why is this so? Why this injustice? It is our dharma to oppose such outrageous conduct and such inhuman policy.

If you feel that I should be grateful to you for the purse you have presented to me, I should say I am grateful. But my hunger will not be satisfied with money. I desire that all of you men and women should enrol yourselves in this sacrificial movement. It is my cherished desire that all students studying in this high school who are above the age of fifteen, and all teachers too, should enrol themselves. Wherever revolutions have taken place, that is, in Japan, China, Egypt, Italy, Ireland and in England, students and teachers have played a prominent role. In Europe, war broke out

on the 4th of August in 1914, and when I reached England on the 6th of that same month, I found that students had left colleges and marched out with arms.

Here, in this righteous war, truth, non-violence and forgiveness are the weapons. The consequence of using such weapons can only be beneficial, and it is the duty of every student and teacher to take part in such a struggle. At a time when the final struggle is being waged in order to free India from slavery, any student or teacher who takes shelter in his home or in the school will be regarded as having acted as a traitor to his country. Will you be engaged in learning poems by heart or in doing sums at a time when a person like Sardar is behind the bars? Just as when a house is on fire everyone comes out to extinguish it, similarly you should all come out to put an end to these sufferings of our country.

Those who say that Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Jews and others have not united speak an untruth. This salt tax applies equally to all. If it is the case that whereas Hindus have to pay this tax, Muslims can get themselves exempted from it, they may very well do so. If anyone can save himself in this manner, I shall have to modify my dharma. I am prepared to get this tax abolished even if I have to prostrate myself on the ground in order to do so. Why should not everyone unite in order to have that tax abolished from which even a buffalo and a cow cannot escape?

My prostrating myself on the ground for the sake of removing the hardships of crores of people was of no avail. I have spared no efforts in drafting appeals. Everyone knows that I know how to use polite language. However, I have become a revolutionary when politeness and persuasion proved infructuous. I find peace in describing myself as a revolutionary and I practise my dharma to some extent. In a revolution which is calm, peaceful and truthful, you should get yourselves enrolled regardless of the religion to which you belong. If you enlist yourselves with sincerity and if you can keep up your courage, the salt tax will have been abolished, this administration will have come to an end and all the hardships enumerated in the letter to the Viceroy as well as those which have not been so enumerated will have to cease. Then when new administrative policies are to be formulated, the time will be ripe for solving communal disputes and satisfying everyone.

I invite you all in the name of God. Even the Britishers will join in this movement. Will they perpetrate many injustices in order to justify one? And will they put innocent men behind the bars, whip them and hang them?

God can never be identified with that which is untruth, that which is injustice. It is as plain as I am speaking to you here and now. I see equally clearly that the days of this administration are numbered and total swaraj is in sight. The Goddess of Independence is peeping in and wishes to garland us. If at such a time we run away, who will be as unworthy as we?

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 23-3-1930

100. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

RAS,

March 19, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

You are in for a whole night's vigil but it is inevitable if you are to return before tomorrow night. The messenger will bring you where I may be. You are reaching me at the most trying stage in the march. You will have to cross a channel at about 2 a.m. on the shoulders of tried fishermen. I dare not interrupt the march even for the chief servant of the nation.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

This is the place where Vallabhbhai was arrested. All the hereditary officials of this village have just gone, leaving their resignations in my hands.

PUNDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

101. SPEECH AT RAS

March 19, 1930

Today we have entered the taluka in which Sardar Vallabhbhai was arrested and sentenced to prison and in which he had carried on such a vigorous struggle in 1924 that the Government had finally to admit its error and mete out justice that should not have required a struggle. It is as if Sardar was sentenced to prison as a reward for having served you!

The question now is what you can do to serve the cause for which he has been sent to jail and what I should do.

Some of the Headmen and Matadars have handed in their resignations. I congratulate them. However, there are still many who cannot abandon the line. I have not come across a single person who has accepted the post of a Headman for the sake of the salary attached to it. Headmen have the privilege of perpetrating indignities on the people or it may be said that they have the right to participate in the indignities perpetrated on the people. The improper reason for their clinging to their posts is that this privilege satisfies their base self-interest or assists them in their work. But how much longer will you keep on doing your part in squeezing these villages?

Have not your eyes yet been opened to the robbery that is being committed by the Government?

The Headman, the Talati and the Ravania are the representatives of the Government in the villages, and it is through these persons that the latter carries on its administration. A village which is afraid of a handful of men and continues to act in a manner contrary to its own wishes, neither enhances the prestige of the Headman, the Talati or the Ravania nor that of the villagers themselves. Sardar was making great efforts to end this indignity.

Sardar neither made speeches nor came here to foment trouble. Neither the Magistrate nor you had expected any sort of trouble. The task for which Sardar had approached you was not a secret to anyone. A satyagrahi has no secrets. Even a child can see how a satyagrahi stands, sits, eats and drinks. It can also examine the latter's accounts. What secret can a satyagrahi like Sardar have? He had come here to clear the way for me. He had not come here to convey the message regarding salt. We had both so planned that it would be through me and those whom I took along with me that the salt law would be violated. You do not know many of the persons who are accompanying me. They are all public workers devoted to Sardar. I have not been able to understand the nature of Sardar's offence. Even the Magistrate did not know it. That Sardar should be awarded a sentence of three months' jail is a matter of shame both to Sardar and to the Government. A person like him should be sentenced to a term of seven years' imprisonment or be exiled. It would not befit the Government to sentence me to three months' imprisonment. Exile for life or hanging would be a punishment fit for a person like me. I am guilty of sedition. It is my dharma to commit sedition against the Government. I am teaching this dharma to the people. A regime under which tyranny is being perpetrated, under which the rich and the poor are made to pay

the same amount of tax on an item like salt, under which exorbitant sums are being spent on watchmen, the police and the army, under which the highest executive receives a salary which is five thousand times the income of the cultivator, under which an annual revenue of 25 crores of rupees is derived from narcotics and liquor, under which foreign cloth of the value of Rs. 60 crores is imported every year, and under which crores of persons continue to remain unemployed, it is one's dharma to rise against and destroy such a regime, to pray that fire may consume it policies.

For such a treasonable offence, I was once sentenced to six years' imprisonment but, unfortunately for the Government and myself, I fell ill and I was released as it was felt that I should no longer be held in prison. Now again a cloud, if you choose to call it so, or a procession with a fanfare if you wish so to describe it, is approaching me. It will be good if I am arrested. The magistrate will be put to shame if he sentences me to three months' imprisonment. One guilty of sedition should be banished to the Andamans, sentenced to a life-term of exile, or to hanging. What other punishment can be meted out to anyone like me who regards sedition his duty?

The Government must have believed that by sentencing Sardar to three months' imprisonment, it will be able to scare the people and suppress them. However, the fact that you have turned out here in thousands appears to signify that you are looking forward to a celebration. You must regard it as something to celebrate if my colleagues and I are arrested. But will you sit quiet after regarding this as an occasion for celebration? Will the Headmen and the Matadars cling to their offices as flies cling to dirt? That would indeed be a matter of shame and grief.

Durbar has come and settled in this taluka for many years. Who is this Durbar? He has given up his kingdom—however tiny a village it may be. He does not want any comforts; he only wants to serve. You should learn courage and sacrifice from him. What an adverse impression it will create if the Headmen of such a taluka do not give up their office!

The money that you have given me today has no value for me. When I collected a crore of rupees, it did have value for me. Those crores of rupees have rendered service many times their value. Today, however, I do not need money but your services. All the men and women present here should get themselves enrolled. Say that you are prepared, when your turn comes to violate the salt law. Even women can participate in this righteous struggle and many have already enrolled themselves.

This religious struggle does not involve hurting even a hair of anyone. We shall teach the Government a lesson by suffering hardships ourselves, and by doing so create world opinion in our favour. And, finally, we shall achieve a change of heart in our rulers. At present, however, the Government is inclined to indulge in oppression instead of meting out justice.

A person like Shri Sen Gupta, Mayor of Calcutta, whose name is familiar to everyone in Bengal, has been imprisoned in Burma. The Government has adopted the policy of arresting those who are not guilty of any offence. At a time when the nation cries out in despair and thousands are coming forward to express their grievances, the Government should abolish a thing like the salt tax and redress other grievances as well. But this Government cannot afford to do so. It cannot afford to see a crore of rupees remaining with the people. It is behaving in such an outrageous manner in order that this sum is sent out to England. The first step towards freeing ourselves from such oppression is to seek the abolition of the salt tax. We shall violate the salt tax law to such an extent that we shall be prepared to suffer whatever the penalty we may have to face—be it imprisonment, flogging or any other.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 23-3-1930

102. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
Wednesday, 10.30 p.m. [*March 19, 1930*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have your letter. If those young men are so keen, I believe that we should admit them. They did repent before me at any rate. I refused to give them a letter of recommendation, so that you may decide there as you think best. That is the position even now. Do only what you think right.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8093. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Narandas Gandhi", p. 87.

103. NOTES

Salt Tax

> Fifteen villagers of Bhangore and Matla in 24 Parganas District have been fined eight annas each by the Sub-Divisional Officer of Alipore on a charge of illicit manufacture of salt. The men pleaded guilty and throwing themselves at the mercy of the Court, submitted they were too poor to buy salt and were manufacturing it for their own consumption.

This seasonable item is from the public Press. Eight annas fine for poor people is no joke. The magistrate might have discharged the men with a caution or he might, as magistrates have done before now, have paid the fine from his own pocket, if he felt that he was bound to impose a penalty. It is likely of course that in that case, he might have laid himself open to the charge of cowardice under the Salt Act. Be that as it may, the fact that the men "threw themselves at the mercy of the court," and "submitted that they were too poor to buy salt," and that the magistrate rejected the plea of the villagers, is eloquent testimony in favour of the civil disobedience campaign. No milder agitation would have answered the purpose. Moreover, the salt tax is but a sample from the mountain of such grievances, from which it is the duty of every Indian who knows the wrongs being done to India to strain every nerve to free her.

How to Break It

A correspondent writes to say that there is no salt tax in Portuguese India, that Daman is quite near Pardi, that salt is sold at 2 annas per maund in Daman, and that any quantity may be imported from Daman and payment of tax refused on passing the British border. A similar suggestion has come too from Kathiawar. There also there is no tax, though there is the State monopoly which makes the salt dearer than the cost price. Nevertheless it is much cheaper than in the British territory. Thus a maund (*cutcha*) costs, I understand, Rs. 1-4 in Ranpur whereas the same quantity outside Ranpur will cost probably no more than 10 annas, if that. Anyway, when the instructions for civil disobedience on a mass scale are issued, there is no doubt that the salt law is the easiest to break.

The Government is naturally preparing to combat the civil

law breakers after its usual fashion. Every police officer above the rank of a constable in the Bombay Presidency except in Sind and Aden has been appointed a salt officer. These gentlemen, armed with new powers, may be fully expected to give a good account of themselves. And when they have stained their hands with innocent blood, there will be no doubt the usual inquiry followed by a repeal of the Salt Act. But this time the object of civil disobedience is double—the repeal of the tax and the repeal of the British bondage of which the salt tax is but an offshoot. No inquiry merely into the Salt Act followed by its repeal can stop the campaign of civil disobedience. It behoves all who want the repeal of the salt tax to join the agitation at least to that extent, unless they would have the tax rather than success of civil disobedience even for a specific grievance.

Something Added, Nothing Deducted

It has been said that I have now abandoned my first love and that I have given up Hindu-Muslim unity, removal of untouchability and khaddar as conditions of swaraj. This is a mischievous suggestion. The fact is that I have given up nothing. Many new things have been added. Hence have I called the recent presentation a new orientation. There will be no swaraj without the old conditions being fulfilled. But there will be none if some more conditions are not also fulfilled. They might have been neglected altogether at the time of formulating the constitution. Now they form an integral part of any scheme of swaraj if it is conceived in the interest of the masses. Again civil disobedience is being offered irrespective of the full fruition of the various points; for it, being in substitution for an armed rebellion, can go on side by side with the prosecution of the amplified constructive programme—even as an armed man will be fighting, whilst the civil population may be engaged in various other national pursuits, suspending them to the extent necessary for supporting the armed man. There is no danger of any one of the conditions of swaraj being neglected or given up as those who are engaged in civil disobedience are irrevocably committed to them. The question therefore is, who are guiding the civil disobedience movement? It is well if they are pure nationalists not directly or indirectly fostering communalism. Civil disobedience is the method whereby the nation is to generate the strength to reach her formulated goal.

Deenabandhu Andrews

The reader knows that C. F. Andrews had become a convert to Independence before I came to it. I had hugged the belief

that Dominion Status was superior to Independence. But Deenabandhu knew his England better than I did. In this latest letter written on his birthday he says:

> I cannot tell you how much I have been thinking of you! At such times as these I have realized that thoughts are prayers. The greatest of all struggles has begun, and India is right, as I have always believed, in claiming nothing short of Independence. She *cannot* be part of an Empire. It is unthinkable.

The idea behind this letter evidently is that India with Dominion Status can only be part of an Empire, not a member on an equal footing of a commonwealth of nations. Of course when I talked of Dominion Status, I had no thought of being anything but an equal partner. Apart therefore from the Calcutta resolution, when the experience of 1929 proved that partnership on a footing of absolute equality was out of the question, I became a convinced Independencewallah.

Young India, 20-3-1930

104. THE CHOICE BEFORE STUDENTS

It has been often said that the money spent on national education in general and the Gujarat Vidyapith in particular has been so much waste. In my opinion the Gujarat Vidyapith by its supreme sacrifice has more than justified its existence, the hopes entertained by its authors and the grants made to it by donors. For the Vidyapith has suspended its literary activities save for boys under 16 who are already under training there. The teachers and students of over 15 years of age have offered their services as volunteers and nearly forty students with the teachers are already in the field. A class for giving fifteen days' emergency training in connection with satyagraha has been opened for the sake of those who may need such training. I congratulate the students and the teachers on the promptitude with which they have acted. I may state that twenty of these are with me on the march. They are divided into two parties, both preceding the 80 pilgrims to make preparations in advance and assisting the villagers. They are under orders not to offer civil resistance till the 80 are arrested and immediately to replace them as soon as they are arrested.

I am sure that every national educational institution will copy the noble example of the Gujarat Vidyapith which was the first to come into being in response to the call of non-co-opera-

tion in 1920. And I hope that the Government and aided institutions will also copy the example. Every revolution of modern times has found students in the forefront. This, because it is peaceful, ought not to offer less attraction to the students.

The motto of the Gujarat Vidyapith is: सा विद्या या विमुक्तये. It means: That is knowledge which is designed for salvation. On the principle that the greater includes the less, national independence or material freedom is included in the spiritual. The knowledge gained in educational institutions must therefore at least teach the way and lead to such freedom.

The most superficial observer will not fail to notice that the daily routine of the satyagrahi pilgrims constitutes by itself a perfect education. It is not a company of violent rebels who are moving about creating ravages and letting loose every passion; it is a band of self-restrained men who have declared non-violent rebellion against organized tyranny and who seek to secure freedom from it by severe self-suffering, spreading on their march the message of freedom through non-violence and truth. No father need feel the slightest anxiety about dedicating his son or daughter to what is after all the truest education that can be conceived in the existing circumstances of the country.

Let me distinguish between the call of 1920 and the present call. The call of 1920 was for emptying Government institutions and bringing into being national ones. It was a call for preparation. Today the call is for engaging in the final conflict, i.e., for mass civil disobedience. This may or may not come. It will not come if those who have been hitherto the loudest in their cry for liberty have no action in them. If the salt loses its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? The students are expected to precipitate a crisis not by empty meaningless cries but by mute, dignified, unchallengeable action worthy of students. It may again be that the students have no faith in self-sacrifice, and less in non-violence. Then naturally they will not and need not come out. They may then, like the revolutionaries, whose letter is reproduced in another column, wait and see what non-violence in action can do. It will be sportsmanlike for them either to give themselves whole-heartedly to this non-violent revolt or to remain neutral, and (if they like) critical, observers of the developing events. They will disturb and harm the movement, if they will act as they choose and without fitting in with the plan of the authors or even in defiance of them. This I know, that if civil disobedience is not developed to the fullest extent possible now, it may not be for another generation. The choice before the students is clear. Let

them make it. The awakening of the past ten years has not left them unmoved. Let them take the final plunge.

Young India, 20-3-1930

105. OFFICIAL PETTINESS

The Government of Burma knew that Sjt. Sen Gupta was but a bird of passage when he was in Rangoon the other day. Yet he, the Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation, has been taken under warrant to Rangoon for prosecution. A prosecution so vindictively brought is bound, if past experience is any guide, to result in a conviction. The inference is irresistible that there is an unwritten but well understood conspiracy among the high officials to 'lop off tall poppies'. It was Sardar Vallabhbhai yesterday, it is Sjt. Sen Gupta today. It will be other leaders tomorrow. There is no other way open to the Government than either repression or relief. The latter the Government does not propose to give; the former therefore is inevitable. The swifter and stronger it is, the better it is for the movement. For if it has inherent vitality in it, it will grow with every wave of repression. I therefore tender my congratulations to Sjt. Sen Gupta on his arrest.

I observe that a spontaneous movement has grown up in the country to appoint convinced believers in non-violence as dictators in the various provinces. Tamil Nad has taken the lead by appointing Sjt. C. Rajagopalachari; Andhra Desha has followed by appointing Deshabhakta Konda Venkatappayya. Now comes the news that Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta has been similarly appointed in Bengal. I am a little nervous about Bengal. For the Press message is not clear whether the appointment is on the part of both the groups or only one. I hope it is by both. They may have their vital differences, if any. But on the question of the goal and the method of civil disobedience, there can be none. And since Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta has no designs either upon the Council or the Corporation, he should be able to weld the two elements together. The two great leaders being taken away, surely it is the duty of the rival groups to coalesce and assist Satis Babu.

In any event the task of a dictator is no bed of roses. He may himself be taken away any moment. He allows himself to be appointed for that purpose. But he ought to receive the unanimous and unquestioned support of the people. Once a person is called to such an office, he should have absolute allegiance. All

argument should be hushed at the time of battle. The time for argument was when the appointment was made.

The word "dictator" is, in my opinion, ill-chosen and has a bad odour. I should name him First Servant. The definition of his duties will give the precise meaning to the office. Use of some words from current and apparently similar movements is inevitable. But we ought to avoid the use, in a movement in which dictatorship is altogether out of place and impossible, of a word bearing that meaning and having that force.

Young India, 20-3-1930

106. *GOOD IF TRUE*

I publish the foregoing[1] just as I have received it. I have not the privilege of knowing "Colonel Bedy". If he and the letter are not a hoax and if the letter is genuine, I congratulate the revolutionary party on its decision. Three years' limit given to me is ample. If during three years of active non-violence under the auspices promised by the party are not enough to carry conviction, I should regard myself to be an unworthy representative of non-violence. I hope therefore that the revolutionary party will not only suspend its own activities but will also prevent so far as is possible, sporadic violence from breaking out.

Young India, 20-3-1930

107. *SWARAJ AND RAMARAJYA*

No matter in how many ways swaraj may have been defined, no matter how many interpretations I myself may have given it, to me its only meaning which is eternally valid is Ramarajya. If the word Ramarajya offends anyone, then I shall call it 'Dharmarajya'. The sense of the word Ramarajya is this that under such a rule the poor will be fully protected, everything will be done with justice, and the voice of the people will always be respected. But in order to attain Ramarajya all must help. But in order to achieve this khadi alone is the universal and constructive instrument. But

[1] The letter from "Members of the Executive Council of R.L.R. represented through Secretary, Colonel Bedy" is not reproduced here. It said that the revolutionaries had decided to give three years' time for "Gandhism" to succeed after which they would declare the "civil war of independence".

in order to increase the power of the people something else with a wider appeal was needed. That something is salt tax. Both the poor and the rich use salt equally and because a tax is levied on this universally useful thing, one that is necessary for everyone, one and all can offer civil disobedience against the salt tax law and thus strengthen their power. The power that we shall gain by this sort of civil disobedience will, because of its civil and peaceable nature, help us in securing Ramarajya. There are many other taxes like the salt tax which weigh heavily on the people and in resisting which people can get a good training, and their strength can increase. Ramarajya, by such means, will become easy to establish. No one can predict when we shall attain full Ramarajya. But it is the duty of every one of us to contemplate it day and night. And true contemplation is that in which proper methods also have been used for the establishment of Ramarajya. It should be remembered that in order to establish Ramarajya no learning is necessary. The necessary talent is found in all—men and women, young and old, and in people of all religions. The only sad thing is that not all perceive its presence now. Cannot every one of us, if we want, today give proof of qualities such as truth, non-violence, propriety of conduct, bravery, forbearance, courage, etc.? The fact is we are under a delusion and for this reason we are not able to perceive what is in us, and instead we strive, in vain, to understand things that are beyond us. Undoubtedly this is a very sad thing. But even then I shall request the readers of *Hindi Navajivan* that in this great *yajna* which has been started in the country today they should be prepared to do their full share.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 20-3-1930

108. SPEECH AT KARELI

March 20, 1930

It should not be difficult to get 5,000 volunteers out of a population of 2,75,000. If all the officials of the four hundred villages resign we would not be required to go to jails to achieve our goal. But circumstances are not yet favourable for that. We can manufacture salt on the banks of Mahi near its mouth. But Sardar Vallabhbhai has asked me to go to Jalalpur for the purpose. If I and my troop of volunteers get arrested, every volunteer should begin manufacturing salt. The people of Baroda State

may also come into the British territory and make salt. Meanwhile, all should put their hands to the production of khadi and work to stop consumption of liquor.

[From Gujarati]

Gujarati, 23-3-1930

109. LETTER TO GANGADEVI SANADHYA

KARELI,
Thursday [March 20, 1930][1]

CHI. GANGADEVI,

I received your letter. Take good care of your health and render what service you can. Whatever the doctors may say, you must not even think of including in your diet anything except milk and fruit.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2533

110. LETTER TO ABDUL KADIR BAWAZEER

GAJERA,
March 21, 1930

BHAI IMAM SAHEB,

I think about you every day. How shall I describe your love? I feel extremely happy to see that you have risen very high. The Ashram is yours and I need not entrust it to your care. Take care of your health. Qureshi[2] has been doing fine work. I observe that everyone is pleased with him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6645

[1] The date has been inferred from Gandhiji's presence at Kareli.
[2] Gulam Rasul Qureshi, addressee's son-in-law

111. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

March 21, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

If you do not write letters, how can you call yourself a secretary? I do not expect anything from Mahadev at this time. He can get no time. Though he is a secretary, he is not doing a secretary's work but is doing some other work more important than a secretary's. You have not risen beyond being a secretary. I expect reports about people who are ill. I also wish to hear about the activities there. You may also write about anything else which you may think about. How is Ba's health? How is your health? Do you study hard? Do you card? Do you spin? Do you write the diary? And the life-sketch?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1795

112. SPEECH AT GAJERA[1]

[March 21, 1930][2]

You should be firmly convinced that you have performed a meritorious deed by bringing the *Antyajas* in your midst and have taken a step forward towards swaraj. You can see from the dress and behaviour of the two Brahmins who sang "*Raghupati Raghava Rajaram, Patitapavana Seetaram*", that they are not new-fashioned Brahmins, that they are persons who would not gamble, eat meat or be guilty of licentious conduct. They are Brahmin teachers who are well-versed in the *Gita*, know Sanskrit and fully understand their responsibilities. They do not regard it as a sin to live with the *Antyajas* or with those who belong to other religions, but rather look upon it as a sin not to do so. Hence, you should be convinced that you are not guilty of irreligious conduct.

[1] Extracted from "Swaraj Gita"
[2] Gandhiji was at Gajera on this date.

When Shri Ramachandra left Ayodhya and arrived on the banks of the Ganga, King Nishad rowed him across to the other bank, and offered him fruits and vegetables to eat. Who was Nishad? He was regarded an *Antyaja*. When Bharata met him, he embraced him and congratulated him on having served Shri Ramachandra in his hour of need. There is an *Antyaja* family which has also joined our group.

Besides the 60 crores of rupees that go out of the country every year by way of payment for the foreign cloth that we import, millions more are sent out of the country. During the days of the Gazni, Ghori, and the Mogul Empire, the wealth of the country stayed within it, but under this Government, the pensions of all officers are sent out of the country. How can one rest when the country is being robbed in this manner?

There are three hundred districts in India and in all these districts the Collector reigns supreme. It is truly a matter of shame to them and to all of us, if we only stop to think, that these three hundred men should rule over 30 crores of us.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-3-1930

113. SPEECH AT ANKHI[1]

[*March 21, 1930*][2]

I have received a complaint that villagers do not supply provisions or water to the police officers or other Government officers who happen to come here. We are not guilty of any violence in doing so; however, whether these officers happen to be Indians or Britishers, if they are really dying of hunger or thirst, it is not our dharma to let them perish in either manner. The dharma in obedience to which I act and which has made an outlaw of me teaches me that if Dyer and O'Dwyer, whose deeds, which were the very incarnations of cruelty, I had termed as "Dyerism", shoot me and if I am still conscious and come to know that one of them has been bitten by a snake, I would go running to them to suck out the poison. I have done such things in the past. In South Africa once I was beaten by a certain person[3] and when I regained consciousness, I beseeched the Government to release

[1] Extracted from "Swaraj Gita"

[2] The date is from *Prajabandhu*, 23-3-1930.

[3] Mir Alam; *vide* Vol. VIII, pp. 93-4.

him. However, if an officer approaches us with arrogance which derives from the office he holds, he would get neither food nor drink, neither a bed, nor matches nor even fodder for his horse.

A potter is not born in order to fetch water for others. Even if we happen to lose our hands, we shall no longer salute the Government. We shall ourselves settle all our disputes and, when a new era begins, washermen, barbers and other workers will be ready to serve those who serve the people. However, in a democracy, there will be no distinctions of high and low. Even a Brahmin will become as much of a public servant as a Bhangi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-3-1930

114. MESSAGE TO MAHARASHTRA

AMOD,
March 22, 1930

I am extremely glad to hear that in Maharashtra both wings of the Congress have come together and have decided to take part in the fight for swaraj. I hope in this religious fight Maharashtra will take the foremost place.

The Bombay Chronicle, 24-3-1930

115. INTERVIEW TO YUSUF MEHERALLY

[AMOD,
March 22, 1930][1]

Q. What part do you expect the youth movement to play in the present struggle?

A. The Youth League can do a great deal. They can supply recruits in large numbers in the civil disobedience campaign. They can, moreover, help to carry the message of independence to every nook and corner of the land. They can usefully picket foreign cloth and liquor shops.

Those of its members who are unable to participate actively in the present campaign can render good service in the realm of

[1] According to the source this was published in the *Vanguard*, 22-3-1930. Gandhiji, however, arrived in Amod on the evening of the 22nd.

social reforming, popularizing khaddar and swadeshi articles, in pushing forward prohibition propaganda, etc.

Indeed at this juncture great things are expected from the youth of the country and I have no doubt they will fully rise to the occasion.

Q. Will you advise students to leave schools and colleges immediately?

A. Yes. I wish to point out that the present appeal to the students differs from that of 1921. In the latter case, the students were asked to quit their Government-controlled educational institutions and join national educational institutions. The present call is: Suspend your studies and join in the fight for freedom. When victory is won and you happen to be alive, you will resume your studies in schools of our own Government. For to my mind it is a fight to the finish. The greatest service that the youth can now render is to empty schools and colleges and swell the ranks of satyagrahi volunteers.

Q. Would you advise Youth Leagues to call out even those students whose examinations are a month or even a week ahead?

A. Yes. If the students themselves feel the call they should come out at once. As I said, I consider it a fight to the finish. If they have not the faith, they won't do it.

Q. Would you approve of the suggestion mooted in Youth League circles that the houses of "blackleg" M.L.C.'s who have not resigned their seats and those of selected other officials be picketed, and they be harassed in other ways as much as possible?

A. I should say no. During the N.C.O.[1] days three specific instances of this type came to my notice. They did no good. I know they did harm.

Q. Would you suggest any method by which the Muslims could be still more attracted to the Congress fold and protected from the pernicious propaganda of communalists?

A. The best way to increase Muslim interest in the Congress is for Congressmen to serve them. Convince them that the Congress is as much theirs as anybody else's. My present programme—the breaking of the salt laws—should appeal to all the communities in India, for it affects them all alike. I am an optimist. I have no doubt that soon the Congress will stand higher in the affections of the Muslims than it ever did before. The masses are sound at heart. They only require a correct and

[1] Non-co-operation

courageous lead. I repeat that the best way of winning over the Mussalmans is by seeking occasions of service and assuring them that the resolution of the Congress on the communal question means what it says.

Q. In case you are not arrested in the next few days, are the other Provinces not to embark on satyagraha?

A. If I am not arrested till I reach Jalalpur, I expect that the Provinces will be free to start civil disobedience soon after I have committed the breach of Salt Act.

The Hindu, 25-3-1930

116. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[Before *March 23, 1930*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters. No time to say anything. I notice that everywhere they say you have taken charge of the Ashram. This needs contradiction.[2] I am trying to think out something.

I hope those [who] were stung have now recovered.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5387. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9621

117. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

AMOD,
Before prayer, March 23, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

I have your letter.

If Narandas and Gangabehn permit you, come and spend a day. I hope you know that we reach Broach on Wednesday. You should get this letter on Monday. You would have got it today, but I had no time at all to write.

It is foolish of you to feel sorry that you could not get up at three. How can you help if your body is not strong enough? Be-

[1] On the back of the letter is noted "March 23, 1930", which appears to be the date on which it was received by the addressee.

[2] *Vide* "Notes", 27-3-1930, sub-title, "Mirabai Not Manager".

sides, everything depends on God's will. It is enough if you do not remain complacent. I know that you are striving hard. I have no time to write more.

I have of course written to Dudhibehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1796

118. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

BUVA,
Sunday, March 23, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

You seem to have taken a vow not to write to me. I know that you are submerged in work. That is precisely why I must have a letter from you. You should not work so much that you may fall ill. Speak less loudly and spare your throat.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne, p. 9

119. SPEECH AT BUVA

March 23, 1930

Although I make strong speeches and have set out to violate the law, the Government dare not arrest me. Why are you afraid of such a Government? The Government took Shri Sen Gupta to Rangoon and sentenced him to about 10 days' simple imprisonment. Should we not conclude from this that as compared to 1857 and 1919, it has lost some of its strength? I have only 80 volunteers with me. Even then the Government cannot arrest me. What then could it do if there were 80,000 volunteers? Hence Hindus and Muslims, men and women, should participate in this struggle.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 30-3-1930

120. SPEECH AT SAMNI[1]

March 23, 1930

To date, at least 80 persons have handed in their resignations. It will be regarded as cowardice to hand in one's resignation and then to withdraw it. There is no compulsion to resign. It is advisable to give up the post of Headman, looking upon it as something base, dirty and filthy. In the Ashram, classes have been started to train up women in fifteen days. Dadabhai's grand-daughter[2] is a teacher there. The women of Samni should also come foward. If you cannot do so, will you not at least produce khadi? Nowadays a large number of people wear khadi. But if those who make it go to jail, who will continue to produce khadi? You should therefore produce khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 30-3-1930

121. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

SAMNI,
Monday [March 24, 1930][3]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I send seven articles in this packet. It is about 10 p.m. now. I have revised the articles, but you should revise them further if necessary. I do not think I have left out anything. I am sending with this some letters for Ashram inmates. See that you do not forget to pass them on to the persons concerned and do not lose them.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I wished to write to the women there, but all the available time was taken up by *Young India* and rest. There are three loose letters and two envelopes.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11484

[1] The meeting was held at 9 p.m.

[2] Khorshedbehn Naoroji

[3] Gandhiji was at Samni on this date.

122. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

TRALSA,
March 25, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have just sent a p.c. to Nonami.

You will see a paragraph[1] I have devoted to you in *Young India.*

Give me your latest time-table. I have suggested to Narandas that Keshu may be asked to lead the prayer. He sings well. He has an excellent ear for music and his Sanskrit pronunciation is perfect. Is the women's prayer recited daily?

I am taking my journeyings very well indeed. But over 15 have become disabled. They expect to be all right by tomorrow. They are all in Broach which we reach tomorrow morning.

I am feeling sleepy now.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

If the 5 young men who came to me were repentant and undertook to abide by the rules, I did contemplate their being taken.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5389. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9623

123. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

Tuesday [*March 25, 1930*][2]

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. You must give up all worry. Your achievement lies in your effort.

"Never, O loved one, does the doer of a good deed meet with a sad end."[3] Look up the meaning. Keep doing whatever you can.

[1] *Vide* "Notes", 27-3-1930, sub-title, "Mirabai Not Manager".
[2] The letter was received by the addressee on March 26, 1930.
[3] *Bhagavad Gita*, VI. 40

Go to Morvi if your health is not satisfactory, there is no harm at all in going. Keep on writing to me as long as I am free. Learn the pronunciation of the *Gita* verses from Krishnadas.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2378

124. SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, TRALSA

March 25, 1930

Mahatmaji said he heard that some Muslim friends had complained that he and his party did not pass through their villages. If he was invited he would surely have included such villages in his programme but his present tour was such that he could not go to any village uninvited and he could not force the villagers to receive him.

In Dandi, a Muslim has invited me and I will be putting up in his bungalow. Satyagraha will commence from the Muslim friend's house. My Muslim friends should not, therefore, feel aggrieved. I only want their blessings so that I may achieve success in my religious fight. Muslims and Hindus both want that this tax should go as both consume equal quantity of salt and both feel the pinch. Only when they are able to get the tax abrogated, will they get enough strength to get swaraj. They must know that crores are being sent away to England by various means.

Making a passing reference to the Sarda Act, Gandhiji said they need not be afraid of that Bill. He could not think of the Government interfering in such things but the people also should understand that nothing is gained by marrying their children of tender age.

This is not the time for marriages when this fight is going on. They must not put any restraint on their sons but all this abysmal ignorance is due to our bondage and dependence.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-3-1930

125. *LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI*

Wednesday, March 26, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. I also read your letter to Manilal. I will not, therefore, rag you in this letter.

I can justify your point of view. And I believe that you wish to keep Sita at Akola. You, too, must then stay there. She should live where you do, and you should live where she does.

But I do not believe that you cannot bring up Sita in the Ashram as you would wish to do. If you use your imagination, you will realize that you will get nowhere else the atmosphere you have in the Ashram. Old and young, all absorb imperceptibly a great deal from the moral atmosphere surrounding them. There is only a half-truth in your belief that the children there are ill-mannered. In the Ashram we try to make the children independent-minded. They are not punished physically and, therefore, they seem to have become ill-mannered. But I am sure that the ultimate result will be good. However, if you decide to stay in the Ashram and to keep Sita there, you must observe the following rules:

1. You should not leave Sita unattended to do any work.
2. You must take a promise from anyone to whom you may entrust Sita that he or she will give her nothing to eat.
3. Sita should be fed at fixed hours.
4. If possible, she should be kept on milk and fruit only.
5. [You] must take some exercise every day.
6. If you or Sita do not keep good health, you should run away from the place.

You should follow these rules disregarding opposition from anybody. If you do not have the strength of mind to do that, I think it will be difficult for you to stay in the Ashram. Do come and see me at Surat.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4767

126. SPEECH AT BROACH[1]

March 26, 1930

Chandubhai has asked for my blessings. But who am I to give blessings? I have myself come to seek blessings. I hope that by the time I reach Dandi the blessings I am receiving at every village on this march will have added up to such a mountain that even this monster of a Government will cower at the sight.[2]

A Muslim youth has sent me questions on the Hindu-Muslim probem. One of them is: "Do you expect to win swaraj through your own single effort or assisted merely by the Hindus?"

I have never dreamt that I could win swaraj merely through my effort or assisted only by the Hindus. I stand in need of the assistance of Mussalmans, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, Jews and all other Indians. I need the assistance even of Englishmen. But I know too that all this combined assistance is worthless if I have not one other assistance, that is, from God. All is vain without His help. And if He is with this struggle, no other help is necessary.

But to realize His help and guidance in this struggle, I need your blessings, the blessings of all communities. The blessings of thousands of men and women belonging to all communities that have attended this march are to me a visible sign of the hand of God in this struggle.

I know that there are occasions when the hand of God has to be traced in the curses of men. But this is not such an occasion. Today I am doing what the nation has been yearning for during the past ten years. Have I not been rebuked for delaying civil resistance? Have not friends angrily said, "You are stopping the progress of the nation towards its goal? You have only to say, 'Let there be civil resistance', behold! there is swaraj." There is some truth in the taunt. Full civil resistance does mean swaraj. But I was staying my hand. I had no confidence in myself. I was

[1] A summary of the speech was published in *Young India*, 3-4-1930, under the heading "Hindu-Muslim Question", with the following note from Gandhiji: "The speech delivered at Broach on 26th ultimo deals with the communal question and is rather important. A full summary is therefore given below." In what follows, the *Young India* version has been collated with the Gujarati report.

[2] The following thirteen paragraphs are from *Young India*.

straining my ear to listen to the still small voice within, but only up to yesterday there was no response. It was in Lahore I had told a journalist that I saw nothing on the horizon to warrant civil resistance. But studdenly, as in a flash, I saw the light in the Ashram. Self-confidence returned. Englishmen and some Indian critics have been warning me against the hazard. But the voice within is clear. I must put forth all my effort or retire altogether and for all time from public life. I feel that now is the time or it will be never.

And so I am out for battle and am seeking help on bended knees from this white beard[1] as also the little girls. For in this battle even they can help; and thank God, they are eager to do so. I have insistent letters from them demanding enlistment.

Thus the answer to the Muslim youth's question is complete. I need the help of all races and from all climes.

A satyagrahi has no power he can call his own. All the power he may seem to possess is from and of God. He therefore moves towards his goal carrying the world's opinion with him. Without the help of God he is lame, blind, groping.

Ever since 1921 I have been reiterating two words, "self-purification" and "self-sacrifice". God will not assist him without these two. The world is touched by sacrifice. It does not then discriminate about the merits of a cause. Not so God. He is all-seeing. He insists on the purity of the cause and on adequate sacrifice therefor.

The question was put by a Mussalman representing a powerful interest. But had a little Parsi girl representing but a hundred thousand Parsis asked the question, I should have given the same answer and said: "Without the help of Parsis there is no swaraj." I am thankful to be able to say that I have had during the march abundant proof of the blessings of these communities. I have read friendliness in the eyes and in the speech of the Mussalmans who along with the rest have lined our route or attended the meetings. They have even given material aid.

Yet I know that I have not the Ali Brothers with me. Maulana Shaukat Ali will no longer have me in his pocket. Do not think, I do not miss him. I hold no distinction between him and blood brother. His resistance therefore can only be short-lived. If truth is in me, the Brothers must capitulate. They cannot long keep out of the battle. I crave too the assistance of Englishmen. It was neither empty formula nor a touch of vanity

[1] Gandhiji here pointed towards Abbas Tyabji.

that prompted me to send an English friend with my letter to the Viceroy. But choosing Reginald Reynolds as my messenger, I sealed the bond between them and me. For my enmity is not against them, it is against their rule. I seem to be born to be an instrument to compass the end of that rule. But if a hair of an English head was touched I should feel the same grief as I should over such a mishap to my brother. I say to them as a friend: "Why will you not understand that your rule is ruining this country? It has got to be destroyed even though you may pound us to powder or drown us. We must declare what we feel."

The second question is: "Under swaraj how many seats will Mussalmans have in the legislatures?" What answer can I return to such a question? If I were Viceroy of India I should say to the Mussalmans, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, etc. "Take what you like, the balance will go to the Hindus." It is true that the Sanatani Hindu will never let me become Viceroy. The fact is that I am unfit to do such accounting. But it should be sufficient to know that the Congress has pledged itself not to accept any communal solution that does not satisfy the parties concerned. I am bound by that pledge. For the Congress all are one. They are all Indians and therefore their freedom is guaranteed. No more can be expected by any community.

Civil resistance will merely give the power to the nation to assert her will. But when the time comes for its assertion, the document embodying the will will have to be sealed by all the communities. Thus without the co-operation of all communities, there is no Independence.

But what should we do meanwhile? We must at least be true to the salt we eat. Her starving millions are the salt of India's earth. To be true to them we must free the salt from a tax which they have to pay equally with the rich and in the same proportion as the rich. In our ignorance we have been paying this inhuman imposition. Having realized our folly we will be traitors to the starving millions if we submit to the exaction any longer.

Who can help liking this poor man's battle? The cruel tax is no respecter of persons. It is therefore as much the interest of the Mussalman as of the Hindu to secure its abolition. This is a fight undertaken in the name of God and for the sake of the millions of the paupers of this country.[1]

[1] What follows has been taken from *Navajivan*.

Who does not approve of a struggle to do away with a salt tax amounting to Rs. 6 crores? What a great hardship it is for a poor Muslim if he cannot get salt. Is there any Indian who will not participate in this struggle to get this tax repealed?

This struggle is being carried on in the name of God. It is being carried on for the benefit of the poor and the needy and not for the sake of the wealthy. And is there anyone who will keep away from a struggle for the needy?

I have answered the questions. Shri Chandubhai has vehemently asserted that the Broach District will contribute the largest share in this struggle and, although the people of this district may lose their lives, they will not fail to serve the people. I hope that the men and women who have assembled here will fulfil Chandubhai's hopes. If all of them get themselves enrolled, Shri Chandubhai's hunger will be satisfied and I shall consider that I have received more than what I had asked for.

I pray to God, in Whose name I began: may He grant you the ability to understand what I have told you and the strength to act accordingly.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-3-1930

127. SPEECH AT ANKLESHWAR

March 26, 1930

By merely saying that a government is "foreign", no idea is conveyed as to its nature. It may be that though a government is foreign, the plight of the people under it may not be so miserable. Although Rajpipla is an Indian State, I would regard it as "foreign" since it has such a large number of liquor booths.

One can understand the Government levying a tax on ghee. Liquor or cigarettes can also be taxed. This Government is, however, so cunning, arrogant and inhuman that it levies a duty on an item which is consumed by the poorest of the poor. We are lucky, at any rate, that there is no tax on the air we breathe! There is a tax on water and the tax on salt amounts to 1,400 per cent. When people develop the strength to abolish the tax that is levied on salt, we shall not have to hear the complaint that there are so many liquor booths. The wealthy consume liquor, but they do not pay Rs. 25 crores for it; this amount comes from the pockets of the poor.

Resignations have been received from Headmen. I do not, however, trust these people as some of those who have resigned have informed the Collector that they were compelled to do so. Moreover, where one person has resigned, another has taken charge. If there is such a scramble for this office, we should find out whether those who have resigned have actually relinquished charge.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 30-3-1930

128. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After *March 26, 1930*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

Your reference to Reynolds is instructive. You must come closer to him and not let him feel lonely. There is something wrong in his resistance to the wheel. He must see the truth lying behind it. The wheel is not an Eastern institution. At one time it was common to mankind. When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman? But you know how best to make him feel thoroughly at home. He may be as Western as he can be and yet should be able to feel at home in the Ashram. There must be something wrong with it, if he cannot do so. All things are possible with love.

Totaramji is all you describe him to be.

You must cope with the noise. Confer with Narandas.

My health seems to be excellent. I have put on 2 lb. weight. All have. We were weighed in Broach.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5383. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9617

[1] Gandhiji was at Broach on March 26. The letter was evidently written some time after.

129. MOUNTAIN IN LABOUR

The mountain was in labour in Rangoon and it brought forth a ridiculous mouse. A powerful Government put a distinguished son of India, who was suffering from a dangerous illness, under the strain of an utterly unnecessary prosecution, and spent public money. The ostensible reason was that Sjt. Sen Gupta had delivered, whilst he was passing through Burma, two speeches the like of which are delivered every day from a thousand platforms all over the country without being noticed by the Government. The prosecution could find no witness who was affected by the "seditious" performance. The magistrate was apologetic for having to deliver the judgment he did. Had he been in an environment of freedom he would have discharged the distinguished prisoner and reprimanded the Government for bringing a frivolous complaint before him.

Sjt. Sen Gupta is none the worse for the prosecution. It has enhanced his popularity, and his resolute refusal to defend himself or to answer any questions has furnished an additional proof of the courage for which he has always been known.

But this judgment has a deeper meaning. If Sardar Vallabhbhai was really guilty of the crime imputed to him, he deserved a severer punishment; if Sjt. Sen Gupta was guilty of sedition he deserved exemplary punishment, not mere ten days. If disaffection is a crime and the section has any reality about it, I who have made of sedition a religion should have been tried and heavily punished long ago.

Let no one think that lighter punishments are being awarded or I am being left alone because the Government is afraid of anything. The real reason is deeper and perhaps creditable to the Government. They are ashamed of punishing people for holding opinions and publicly expressing them. They are sensitive to the world opinion rising against them for such conduct. The Rangoon magistrate felt constrained to say that inasmuch as there was in Sjt. Sen Gupta's speech no incitement to violence, he saw no reason to award a penalty befitting the crime of sedition. Section 124A is really concerned with violence. The authors of the section probably never conceived the possibility of anybody harbouring sedition and yet having no trace of violence in him. This reluc-

tance or even incapacity to punish heavily or even to prosecute in the absence of violence is an eloquent tribute to non-violence. He who runs may see that if the campaign that has hitherto remained wholly untainted by violence retains its character, victory in the near future is a certainty. Not only will the salt tax go, but the other difficulties in our progress towards swaraj will also vanish like smoke, in the pure air of non-violence.

Young India, 27-3-1930

130. 'RENDER UNTO CAESAR'

An unknown English friend has thought it worth while cabling to me that in launching upon civil disobedience I am going against the teaching of Jesus: "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's". Another, an Indian Christian, writes from the Punjab somewhat in the same fashion and, forsaking charity, pours abuse upon my devoted head for my action. He says further that whereas he considered me to be a good man formerly, he is now utterly undeceived. I can reassure this friend that civil disobedience is no new thing with me. I began to preach and practise it in 1906. His regard for me therefore was evidently from ignorance, if his present dislike of me is wise. But I have learnt from the New Testament, as also from other sources, that if one wishes to walk in the fear of God, one should be indifferent about popular praise or blame.

Now for the question. As I hold my conduct to be in utter agreement with universal religion and as I hold the New Testament teaching in great esteem, I should not like it to be justly said of me that I was going against the teaching of Jesus. "Render unto Caesar" was quoted against me before too. I have not read into the celebrated verse the meaning that my critics have sought to put into it. Jesus evaded the direct question put to him because it was a trap. He was in no way bound to answer it. He therefore asked to see the coin for taxes. And then said with withering scorn, "How can you who traffic in Caesar's coins and thus receive what to you are benefits of Caesar's rule refuse to pay taxes?" Jesus's whole preaching and practice point unmistakably to non-co-operation, which necessarily includes non-payment of taxes. Jesus never recognized man's authority as against God's. He who disregarded the whole host of priesthood, which was in those days superior to kinghood, would not have hesitated to defy the might of emperors had he found it necessary.

And did he not treat with supreme disdain the whole of the farcical trial through which he was made to pass?

Lastly, let me warn honest friends against running into the trap of literalism. The "letter" surely "killeth", it is the "spirit" that "giveth life". In the present case I find no difficulty in reading into the text a satisfactory meaning. But it would matter little to me that some text should confound me, if there was no mistaking the spirit of the whole teaching of a book respected as among the world's religious scriptures.

Young India, 27-3-1930

131. DUTY OF DISLOYALTY

There is no halfway house between active loyalty and active disloyalty. There is much truth in the late Justice Stephen's remark that a man to prove himself not guilty of disaffection must prove himself to be actively affectionate. In these days of democracy there is no such thing as active loyalty to a person. You are therefore loyal or disloyal to institutions. When therefore you are disloyal you seek not to destroy persons but institutions. The present State is an institution which, if one knows it, can never evoke loyalty. It is corrupt. Many of its laws governing the conduct of persons are positively inhuman. Their administration is worse. Often the will of one person is the law. It may safely be said that there are as many rulers as there are districts in this country. These, called Collectors, combine in their own persons the executive as well as the judicial functions. Though their acts are supposed to be governed by laws in themselves highly defective, these rulers are often capricious and regulated by nothing but their own whims and fancies. They represent not the interests of the people but those of their foreign masters or principals. These (nearly three hundred) men form an almost secret corporation, the most powerful in the world. They are required to find a fixed minimum of revenue, they have therefore often been found to be most unscrupulous in their dealings with the people. This system of government is confessedly based upon a merciless exploitation of unnumbered millions of the inhabitants of India. From the village Headmen to their personal assistants these satraps have created a class of subordinates who, whilst they cringe before their foreign masters, in their constant dealings with the people act so irresponsibly and so harshly as to demoralize them and by a system of terrorism render them incapable of resisting corruption.

It is then the duty of those who have realized the awful evil of the system of Indian Government to be disloyal to it and actively and openly to preach disloyalty. Indeed, loyalty to a State so corrupt is a sin, disloyalty a virtue.

The spectacle of three hundred million people being cowed down by living in the dread of three hundred men is demoralizing alike for the despots as for the victims. It is the duty of those who have realized the evil nature of the system however attractive some of its features may, torn from their context, appear to be, to destroy it without delay. It is their clear duty to run any risk to achieve the end.

But it must be equally clear that it would be cowardly for three hundred million people to seek to destroy the three hundred authors or administrators of the system. It is a sign of gross ignorance to devise means of destroying these administrators or their hirelings. Moreover they are but creatures of circumstances. The purest man entering the system will be affected by it and will be instrumental in propagating the evil. The remedy therefore naturally is not being enraged against the administrators and therefore hurting them, but to non-co-operate with the system by withdrawing all the voluntary assistance possible and refusing all its so-called benefits. A little reflection will show that civil disobedience is a necessary part of non-co-operation. You assist an administration most effectively by obeying its orders and decrees. An evil administration never deserves such allegiance. Allegiance to it means partaking of the evil. A good man will therefore resist an evil system or administration with his whole soul. Disobedience of the law of an evil State is therefore a duty. Violent disobedience deals with men who can be replaced. It leaves the evil itself untouched and often accentuates it. Non-violent, i.e., civil, disobedience is the only and the most successful remedy and is obligatory upon him who would dissociate himself from evil.

There is danger in civil disobedience only because it is still only a partially tried remedy and has always to be tried in an atmosphere surcharged with violence. For when tyranny is rampant much rage is generated among the victims. It remains latent because of their weakness and bursts in all its fury on the slightest pretext. Civil disobedience is a sovereign method of transmuting this undisciplined life-destroying latent energy into disciplined life-saving energy whose use ensures absolute success. The attendant risk is nothing compared to the result promised. When the world has become familiar with its use and when it has had a series of demonstrations of its successful working, there

will be less risk in civil disobedience than there is in aviation, in spite of that science having reached a high stage of development.

Young India, 27-3-1930

132. VOLUNTEERS' PLEDGE

The A.I.C.C. has framed a brief pledge for volunteers. It had necessarily to be the simplest possible. We may not expect hundreds of thousands to sign meticulous pledges. Beyond therefore signing the Congress creed, which includes non-violence and truth as I translate the expression 'peaceful and legitimate', and beyond the undertaking to obey orders, the pledge contains nothing more. Later on, when the whole mass of people join, there will be no pledges. There will then be many silent nameless heroes; if there will also be some bad or weak men. Let it be also understood that the pledge is an application. It does not entitle the applicant to be admitted for the mere signing of the form. Let it be remembered too that the old stringent forms are in no case superseded. The present form is devised for the emergency. The responsibility of recruiting officers is indeed great. The form in no way means that we have now said good-bye to communal unity, khaddar, or removal of the evil of untouchability and drink and drugs. It means that these things are an integral part of the Congress. Only in bringing into the Congress fold thousands of men and women for the fight for swaraj we present to them a simple formula in the certain belief that those who are controlling the Congress will not, in any shape or form, water down the integral parts of the Congress programme. The present plan is based upon implicit trust in the Congress organization being run with absolute honesty. Lastly it should not be forgotten that these volunteers do not become Congress voters.

Young India, 27-3-1930

133. SOME SUGGESTIONS

The resolution passed by the A.I.C.C. at its Ahmedabad meeting throws the burden on me of giving the signal for starting civil disobedience all over the country, assuming that I am kept free till I reach Dandi. The reason is obvious. The A.I.C.C. wishes to take every reasonable precaution against mishaps. In the event of my arrest, it would be dangerous to stop the movement. Before my arrest, the A.I.C.C. will not anticipate me. So far as I can judge now, the workers may assume that the date for making an all-India start will be the 6th of April. It is the day of commencement of the national week. It is the day of satyagraha that in 1919 witnessed a mass awakening unknown before. The seven days that followed witnessed some dark deeds on our part and culminated in the inhuman Jallianwala massacre. If all goes well I should reach Dandi on April 5th. April 6th therefore appears to me to be the most natural day for commencing satyagraha. But the workers, while they may make preparations, must await the final word.

The release of the embargo however does not mean that every province or every district is bound at once to commence civil disobedience although it may not be ready and although its First Servant does not feel the inner urge. He will refuse to be hustled into action if he has no confidence in himself or in his immediate surroundings. No one will be blamed for inaction, but blame will most decidedly descend upon the shoulders of him who instead of controlling the surroundings is carried away by them.

What we all are after is mass civil disobedience. It cannot be made. It must be spontaneous, if it is to deserve the name and if it is to be successful. And there certainly will be no mass response where the ground has not been previously tilled, manured and watered. The greatest precaution has to be taken everywhere against an outbreak of violence. Whilst it is true, as I have said, that civil resistance this time will continue even though violence may break out, it is equally true that violence on our part will harm the struggle and retard its progress. Two opposite forces can never work concurrently so as to help each other. The plan of civil disobedience has been conceived to neutralize and ultimately entirely to displace violence and enthrone non-violence in its stead, to replace hatred by love, to replace strife by concord.

The meaning then of not suspending the fight in spite of any outbreak of violence simply is that votaries of non-violence will allow themselves, will even seek, to be consumed in the flames if any should rise. They will not care to remain helpless witnesses either of the organized violence of the Government or of the sporadic violence of an enraged group or nation. The workers will therefore take, in each province, all precautions humanly possible and then plunge into the fight even though in so doing they run the greatest risks imaginable. It follows that everywhere there will be willing submission to the judgment of those who may be in their own provinces known for their belief in non-violence as an article of faith for the purpose of gaining Purna Swaraj.

There has been talk of disobeying other laws. The proposal has not attracted me. I believe in concentrating attention upon the salt laws. Salt mines are to be found almost everywhere. The idea is not to manufacture salt in salable quantities but through manufacture and otherwise to commit a deliberate and open breach of salt laws.

The *chaukidari* tax laws have been suggested for possible disobedience. This tax does not in my opinion comply with the conditions that the salt tax fulfils. The idea is to disobey such laws as are bad for all time as far as can be seen today. We do not want the salt tax even under swaraj. *Chaukidari* tax is perhaps not such a tax. We may need *chaukidars* even under swaraj. If such is the case, it may be wise not to touch that tax so long as we have other taxes or other laws to combat.

Then there are the forest laws. I have not studied them. I must therefore write with reserve. There can be no doubt that we do not want our forests to be destroyed altogether or wood to be cut uneconomically. There is a need, I have little doubt, for mending these laws. There is greater need perhaps for humaner administration of these laws. The reform may well await the establishment of swaraj. Nor so far as I am aware has there been any popular education about the grievances arising out of these laws or their administration.

Closely allied to the forests are grazing areas. I do not know that regulations governing their use are so irksome as to be a just grievance.

Much better from my standpoint is the picketing of liquor shops, opium dens and foreign-cloth shops. Though picketing is not by itself illegal, past experience shows that the Government will want to suppress all effective picketing. That does not much matter. We are out to resist it wherever we can, consistently with

our creed. But I fear the unscrupulous behaviour of liquor dealers and the ignorant wrath of foreign-cloth dealers. I should like public opinion to consolidate itself more fully around these two evils and would like workers to undertake more systematic education of the dealers as also of their customers. We have to eradicate both the evils some day or other. Wherever, therefore, workers have confidence in their ability to carry on picketing without taking undue risks of the type I have mentioned, they should start the campaign, but in no case because they must be doing something when the word is given for action and because they do not see their way to take up the salt laws. It seems to me to be the safest thing to take up the latter for the time being; what I have said above is merely by way of caution. Wherever workers feel that they have the real inner call for action and are themselves free from violence, they are at liberty, as soon as the word is given, to take up such civil disobedience as they may consider necessary and desirable, subject of course to the A.I.C.C. control.

Meanwhile between now and the 6th of April the provinces should lose no time in making their preparation for mobilization.

Young India, 27-3-1930

134. NOTES

Scarcity of Khaddar

There is naturally nowadays a run on khaddar and letters are being received at the A.I.S.A. office that there is going to be shortage of khaddar in the near future. This is as it should be. The remedy is for full khaddarites to cut down their requirements, for converts to buy only what they need and for all to help to manufacture more khaddar. Just as there never can be scarcity of bread if there is an ensured supply of wheat, so need there be no scarcity of khaddar if there is an ensured supply of cotton. There is no danger of the supply of the cotton running out. The tragedy consists in the people needlessly believing that khaddar cannot be manufactured in our villages and streets as food is prepared in every home. People need not take up the spinning-wheel if they will take up the *takli* and begin spinning at once. They have then to go to the ordinary weaver and coax him to weave their yarn. If there is a proper awakening of national consciousness, the weavers will not look askance at hand-spun yarn as many of them undoubtedly do today. For such organization of khaddar on a

large scale, there must be a real yearning for it among the people. Everyone will not take part in civil disobedience, but everyone can take part in the manufacture of khaddar. Let the reader know that the leaders in the civil disobedience campaign all over the country are, in the vast majority of cases, derived from confirmed khaddarites. Their withdrawal from khaddar manufacture will tend seriously to tell upon the output of khaddar unless people take to self-spinning and self-help generally.

MIRABAI NOT MANAGER

I observe that papers persistently report that Shrimati Mirabai Slade is managing the Ashram as its head in my place. This is not true. The Ashram has been now for a long time under the control of a managing board of which Mahadev Desai is the Chairman, Imam Saheb Bawazeer the Vice-Chairman and Narandas Gandhi the Secretary. Mirabai became head of the sanitary department as other women took up other departments in order to relieve the men joining me in the march. She is also taking her due share in teaching the infant class and rendering such other service as may be required. What she will ultimately be, no one can tell, she least of all. Suffice it for the reader to know that she has thrown in her lot with the Ashram and me for all time to come. Her desire for serving India is an overmastering passion. It was a privilege to receive her in the Ashram. Over four years of closest contact have not diminished the affection she evoked in me when I knew nothing about her parentage, and knew her only through her two reticent letters which I had received when she first applied for admission. No member of the Ashram has striven more strenuously than Mirabai to observe the rules of the Ashram and to realize its ideals. But she is not the head of the Ashram.

Young India, 27-3-1930

135. THE LAW OF THE SWORD

A teacher writes:[1]

Reading this letter, one is reminded of the story of the wolf and the lamb. The wolf wanted to eat up the lamb anyhow and was only looking for an excuse. Unable to find a better it accused the lamb's forefathers of some guilt and ate it up. If one has land, what concern is it of the Government to investigate who the rightful owner of the land is? The Government is hungry for money and it collects the money by the strength of the sword. In the Council the bureaucracy allows lengthy debates. But there is always behind the debates the assumption that ultimately there will be no decrease in land revenue that will accrue to the Government whoever might be the rightful owners of the land.

Therefore, the real question before us is how we are going to meet this power of the sword. Shall we do it with the sword? If we have to fight the sword only with the sword, we shall remain in slavery for years and years to come; because, whatever kind of government there may be, the strength of the sword of the crores of farmers who pay land revenue cannot increase in a day. To establish the farmer's ownership of the land, there is only one way; and that is to teach him the *mantra* of satyagraha. This is a power which is inherent in everyone. The farmer has only to be aware of this power. If a farmer could realize that by peacefully resisting injustice his land could be prevented from being seized by anyone, he would never fall a victim to injustice. Today, the whole of India is taking lessons in the school of satyagraha. It would be good if peasants were to join this school. Then the intricate question of the ownership of land would be solved by itself.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 27-3-1930

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent had criticized the system of land revenue introduced by the British in India.

136. MESSAGE TO HINDUSTANI SEVA DAL

SAJOD,
March 27, 1930

I expect the volunteers of the Hindustani Seva Dal to stand by their pledge of non-violence under every conceivable circumstance.

The Hindu, 29-3-1930

137. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, SAJOD[1]

[*March 27, 1930*][2]

It is deplorable that we do not listen to one another. If someone listens to everyone's advice, everyone will finally stop advising him. Each one of us should become humble and carry on. No one should find fault with others but each should seek out and rid himself of his own shortcomings. None should arrogantly believe that because everything has gone on well so far, we have as good as arrived at Dandi. Who knows what will happen tomorrow or the very next moment? On the night prior to the coronation, Shri Ramachandra and the people were under the impression that it would take place the following morning, but God's ways are inscrutable. Hence we should not fail to remember God every moment. When setting out from the Ashram, the condition was laid down that those who wished to leave should do so before the march began. Today I go further and say that those who wish to leave before we reach Dandi may do so. It is all right even if I alone stick on. I shall keep smiling. If the world criticizes me, I shall join in that criticism and conclude that I merit the charge of being stupid. However, despite this, I shall fight alone and continue to prepare salt.

From today, the first batch will form the rear and the line will begin with the batch which is at the tail end now. Those who are unwell or weak or are bothered by dust may go ahead and

[1] Extracted from "Dharma Yatra"

[2] The speech was delivered one day after Gandhiji and party left Ankleshwar, which was on March 26.

rest at the next halt or may follow later. If crowds of people try to rush in, we should make up the rear of the line. We shall have no difficulties if we do so. Perhaps they, too, will understand and make things easy for us.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-4-1930

138. SPEECH AT SAJOD

March 27, 1930

Tomorrow morning the tour of the Broach District will be over, and it will be proper to sum up my impressions at this place. If we are to depend for swaraj on what has been done so far, it will take us very long to win it, because it cannot be secured by mere attendance at meetings or by large numbers joining the civil disobedience movement against the salt tax. The achievement in the field of constructive work is very meagre in other districts indeed, but here also it is just as poor. We have not achieved complete boycott of foreign cloth and have not succeeded in popularizing khadi. The entry in the column for the quantity of khadi produced is nil. You have a rich crop of cotton in this district, but you put it to no use yourselves. Consumption of liquor has spread widely. Even in these circumstances, however, I have the hope that this movement will bring about a great awakening among us. The use of khadi is spreading widely in the whole of India. If, in consequence of this, there is shortage of khadi, you can even help in producing more of it. After I leave this place they may or may not let me reach Dandi, but take it from me that the salt tax is gone. If you start doing all that I have suggested, I believe we shall have stormed and won not merely the fort of the salt tax but many other forts as well. As I have the blessings of you all, this monstrous salt tax—no adjectives can be strong enough to describe it—is bound to be abolished. If you produce and spread the required climate by boycotting foreign cloth, we will win the next fort. That is, we shall win Rs. 60 crores. Through liquor and opium we have been throwing away Rs. 25 crores for the privilege of becoming mad. That third fort also we will certainly win, but only if you give up drinking. Rs. 60 crores for foreign cloth, Rs. 25 crores for intoxicants and Rs. 6 crores for the salt tax—if we save all this money our faces will beam with lustre and swaraj will be won in no time. The salt tax is as good as gone, and hence those of you who do not wish to

join the present movement should all co-operate and help in these two matters. I request all brothers and sisters here to give up foreign cloth and wear khadi. Understand what your true duty is.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 30-3-1930

139. *SPEECH AT MANGAROL*

March 27, 1930

Let us be under no delusion. As long as we accept the presence of God's hand behind all things, we may keep up our courage and self-confidence and believe the abolition of salt tax a certainty. So far we had been untrue to our salt, but now we must be true to it. It was only on the 12th that we started talking about breaking the salt law. But we have been speaking of two or three other things since 1920. If you remember, according to the Bezwada Congress programme, we were to have two million spinning-wheels working and to boycott all foreign cloth. How much of that have we accomplished? This is a painful, shameful thing. The same can be said about the drink habit. Liquor is being freely consumed. In regard to these two, we believe that we shall be able to enforce them only when we have captured power. But take it from me that the power to remove this Government will drop into our hands when we do away with the evils of foreign cloth and liquor. If we mean to work, here is work for us. All men in this village eat salt; let them manufacture salt for their own use.

Even children should openly steal salt, as it were. Let us burn foreign cloth and buy khadi to wear in its place, or manufacture it with our own hands. At the same time, we should see the licence-holders running liquor booths and persuade them to close the booths. We shall then enjoy fighting for swaraj and become really interested in swaraj. We shall win it only when we do all these things. The fight may start even before the 6th of next month. It only awaits my arrest. No sooner do they arrest me than you should start making salt. When I am arrested, you may do with only a loin-cloth but wear no foreign cloth at all. I repeat even today my old slogan: swaraj hangs by the hand-spun yarn and the khadi woven from it.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 30-3-1930

140. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJEE

RAYMA,
March 28, 1930

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

You are often in my thoughts. Father's watch, which is always hanging from my waist, constantly reminds me of him. The enclosed is among the letters which Mahadev has sent to me to see. I pass it on to you, as it contains a reference to Father. It need not be returned.

I hope you maintain your peace of mind even in the midst of this calamity. Has the burden now lightened somewhat? Do write to me. If you wish the letter to reach me during the march, it may be sent to Surat. If sent to the Ashram, it will be forwarded to me.

Is grandmother at peace with herself? Do not fail to write to me. God bless you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4717. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarjee

141. SPEECH AT RAYMA[1]

March 28, 1930

I cannot live in a district where salt cannot be prepared. So although I am conscious of the affection you have all shown me I have to proceed to Dandi. Although I find it difficult to leave this district, I must go to Dandi and break the law. If on the 12th we can oppose this tax with the blessings of all, Hindus, Muslims, Christians and Parsis, we may take the law as abolished. All of you, Hindus and Muslims, should unite and start making large quantities of salt on the 6th. If the Government chooses to do so, it can even levy a tax on the mud that is dug out of the ground; so why should we pay this tax that it levies on salt? Just as poor

[1] Delivered at 3.30 p.m.

women go about selling *babul* twigs which we use for cleaning our teeth, let us all set forth and sell salt to everyone. Shall we not even do this much for the poor millions? History has no instance of a tax as cruel as the salt tax. However, we shall not secure swaraj as soon as the salt duty is abolished. We have to become alert and do other things. We have to get rid of foreign cloth. It is not enough that we wear khadi made in the Punjab. Every one of us should spin for himself and have cloth made out of that yarn. It is our stupidity that we do not all—from children to old men—engage ourselves in this simple and beautiful task. This bespeaks disloyalty towards our country. We can win swaraj immediately by getting rid of foreign cloth and liquor. After having won independence for India, we shall carry out our tasks from the seat of office. Hence by participating in this salt satyagraha and by accomplishing these two other objectives—the latter by those who cannot participate in the struggle itself—you should demonstrate the fact that the Broach district is wholly engaged in India's freedom struggle.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 30-3-1930

142. SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS[1]

[March 28, 1930][2]

This is the last week of our pilgrimage. At its very beginning, let us all wash away our sins. We have come across a river while crossing the boundary of each district. We regard a river as sacred. A river is after all an external sign of purification. We should become pure even with its help, we should become humble. We have looked upon Dandi as Hardwar. Let us become worthy of entering a place as holy as Hardwar.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-4-1930

[1]Extracted from "Dharma Yatra"

[2] Gandhiji made these remarks when he and the party crossed the river Keem into Surat district, which was on March 28.

143. SPEECH AT UMRACHHI[1]

March 28, 1930

If a man wishes to undertake a march at the age of sixty-one, he should go to the Himalayas, so that he can at least attain *moksha*, at least have *darshan* of God. But I have learnt an opposite dharma. I want to have this *darshan* through this march only. After having had *darshan* of you, I beg you also to participate in it. This is so because so long as we do not succeed in overthrowing the Satanic Government that exists in the country, we are all participants in it. Such participants will not attain *moksha* even if they go to Dhaulagiri. The *darshan* of God is fraught with difficulties. He dwells in the hearts of thirty crores of people. If you wish to catch a glimpse of Him there, you should establish total identification with their hearts. These thirty crores include all the skeletons of Orissa, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Sikhs, men and women. We shall continue to be atheists and not believers so long as we do not achieve this unity with every section of the community. Hence I thought to myself that even at the age of sixty-one, I must not rest in peace. How can there be any rest for me so long as this Empire is not destroyed? Until today I held my peace; I used to listen to and suffer hosts of friends. I was afraid lest people take to the wrong path. What if people did not listen to me? I felt, however, that I was a coward. This was a weakness of my spirit. What right did I have to distrust people?

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-4-1930

[1] Extracted from "Swaraj Gita"

144. SPEECH AT BHATGAM[1]

March 29, 1930

I have been asked to deliver a sermon. I have little fitness for the task. But tonight I propose to make a confession and turn the searchlight inward. You may call this introspection a sermon if you like.

India in general and you in particular are acquainted with one part of my nature. Moreover, more than in any other part of Gujarat, in this district are concentrated workers who have come in closest touch with me. They know this habit of mine from personal experience.

I am plain-spoken. I have not hesitated to describe the mountain-high faults of the Government in appropriate language. And I have not hesitated often to picture as mountain-high our faults appearing to us as trifling. You know, the common rule is to see our own big lapses as tiny nothings. And when we do realize our blemishes somewhat, we at once pass them on to the broad shoulders of God and say He will take care of them; and then with safety thus assured we proceed from lapse to lapse. But as you know I have disregarded this rule for years. So doing, I have hurt the feelings of many friends and even lost some of them. Tonight I have to repeat the painful operation.[2]

I have already told the group of people who are accompanying me that this is the last week of our march. As we shall reach our destination next Saturday, we shall not have to march any further. But we shall be faced with another task. During this last week we shall have to go through Surat district.

Only this morning at prayer time I was telling my companions that as we had entered the district in which we were to offer civil disobedience, we should insist on greater purification and intenser dedication. I warned them that as the district was more organized and contained many intimate co-workers, there was

[1] This appeared in *Young India* under the title "Turning the Searchlight Inward" with the following note from Gandhiji: "At Bhatgam (Dist. Surat) on 29th ultimo I delivered an introspective speech which moved both the audience and me deeply. As it turned out to be an important speech, I give a free and somewhat condensed translation below."

[2] The paragraph that follows has been translated from *Navajivan*, 6-4-1930.

every likelihood of our being pampered. I warned them against succumbing to their pampering. We are not angels. We are very weak, easily tempted. There are many lapses to our debit. God is great. Even today some were discovered. One defaulter confessed his lapse himself whilst I was brooding over the lapses of the pilgrims. I discovered that my warning was given none too soon. The local workers had ordered milk from Surat to be brought in a motor lorry and they had incurred other expenses which I could not justify. I therefore spoke strongly about them. But that did not allay my grief. On the contrary it increased with the contemplation of the wrongs done.

In the light of these discoveries, what right had I to write to the Viceroy the letter in which I have severely criticized his salary which is more than 5,000 times our average income? How could he possibly do justice to that salary? And how can we tolerate his getting a salary out of all proportion to our income? But he is individually not to be blamed for it. He has no need for it. God has made him a wealthy man. I have suggested in my letter that probably the whole of his salary is spent in charity. I have since learnt that my guess is largely likely to be true. Even so, of course, I should resist the giving of such a large salary. I could not vote Rs. 21,000 per month, not perhaps even Rs. 2,100 per month. But when could I offer such resistance? Certainly not if I was myself taking from the people an unconscionable toll. I could resist it only if my living bore some correspondence with the average income of the people. We are marching in the name of God. We profess to act on behalf of the hungry, the naked and the unemployed. I have no right to criticize the Viceregal salary if we are costing the country, say, fifty times seven pice, the average daily income of our people. I have asked the workers to furnish me with an account of the expenses. And the way things are going, I should not be surprised if each of us is costing something near fifty times seven pice. What else can be the result if they will fetch for me from whatever source possible, the choicest oranges and grapes, if they will bring 120 when I should want 12 oranges, if when I need one pound of milk, they will produce three? What else can be the result if we would take all the dainties you may place before us under the excuse that we would hurt your feeling if we did not take them? You give us guavas and grapes and we eat them because they are a free gift from a princely farmer. And then imagine me with an easy conscience writing the Viceregal letter on costly glazed paper with a fountain pen, a free gift from some

accommodating friend! Will this behove you and me? Can a letter so written produce the slightest effect?

To live thus would be to illustrate the immortal verse of Akho Bhagat, who says that "stolen food is like eating unprocessed mercury". And to live above the means befitting a poor country is to live on stolen food. This battle can never be won by living on stolen food. Nor did I bargain to set out on this march for living above our means. We expect thousands of volunteers to respond to the call. It will be impossible to keep them on extravagant terms. My life has become so busy that I get little time to come in close touch even with the eighty companions so as to be able to identify them individually. There was therefore no course open to me but to unburden my soul in public. I expect you to understand the central point of my message. If you have not, there is no hope of swaraj through the present effort. We must become real trustees of the dumb millions.

I have exposed our weaknesses to the public gaze. I have not yet given you all the details, but I have told you enough to enable you to realize our unworthiness to write the letter to the Viceroy.

Now the local co-workers will understand my agony. Weak, ever exposed to temptations, ever failing, why will you tempt us and pamper us? We may not introduce these incandescent burners in our villages. It is enough that one hundred thousand men prey upon three hundred millions. But how will it be when we begin to prey upon one another? In that event dogs will lick our corpses.

These lights are merely a sample of the extravagance I have in mind. My purpose is to wake you up from torpor. Let the volunteers account for every pice spent. I am more capable of offering satyagraha against ourselves than against the Government. I have taken many years before embarking upon civil resistance against the Government. But I should not take as many days for offering it against ourselves. The risk to be incurred is nothing compared to what has to be incurred in the present satyagraha.

Therefore in your hospitality towards servants like us, I would have you to be miserly rather than lavish. I shall not complain of unavoidable absence of things. In order to procure goat's milk for me you may not deprive poor women of milk for their children. It would be like poison if you did. Nor may milk and vegetables be brought from Surat. We can do without them if necessary. Do not resort to motor-cars on the slightest pretext. The rule is, do not ride if you can walk. This is not a battle to be conducted with money. It will be impossible to sustain a mass

movement with money. Anyway it is beyond me to conduct the campaign with a lavish display of money.

Extravagance has no room in this campaign. If we cannot gather crowds unless we carry on a hurricane expensive propaganda, I would be satisfied to address half a dozen men and women.[1]

It will be said that in that case reports will not appear in newspapers. I wish to tell you once and for all that this campaign will not succeed through newspaper reports, but with the assistance of Shri Rama. And, no light is necessary when we are near Him; neither are pen and ink and such other accessories required, nor even speech. An appeal can be made to Him even if one has lost one's limbs.

We may not consider anybody low. I observed that you had provided for the night journey a heavy kerosene burner mounted on a stool which a poor labourer carried on his head. This was a humiliating sight. This man was being goaded to walk fast. I could not bear the sight. I therefore put on speed and outraced the whole company. But it was no use. The man was made to run after me. The humiliation was complete. If the weight had to be carried, I should have loved to see someone among ourselves carrying it. We would then soon dispense both with the stool and the burner. No labourer would carry such a load on his head. We rightly object to *begar* (forced labour). But what was this if it was not *begar*? Remember that in swaraj we would expect one drawn from the so-called lower class to preside over India's destiny. If then we do not quickly mend our ways, there is no swaraj such as you and I have put before the people.

From my outpouring you may not infer that I shall weaken in my resolve to carry on the struggle. It will continue no matter how co-workers or others act. For me there is no turning back whether I am alone or joined by thousands. I would rather die a dog's death and have my bones licked by dogs than that I should return to the Ashram a broken man.[2]

I admit that I have not well used the money you have given out of the abundance of your love. You are entitled to regard me as one of those wretches described in the verses sung in the beginning. Shun me.

Young India, 3-4-1930

[1] The paragraph that follows has been translated from *Navajivan*, 6-4-1930.

[2] Gandhiji here says: "Turning to the women, I concluded and nearly broke down as I finished the last sentences."

145. LIMITS OF BOYCOTT

In my speeches during this march I have said quite a lot about boycott. I have no idea how the newspapers have reported those parts of my speeches. It is necessary to consider and lay down the limits of boycott here as the subject is an important one. As this struggle is a sacred, truthful and non-violent one, that is to say, as it is a religious struggle, it is absolutely essential that no mistake should be made consciously or otherwise. Even the minutest error committed cannot but harm it.

Boycott has been working in two ways : one is directed against the Government officials and the other against those who do not respect public opinion — for instance, Headmen and such other persons.

It is necessary, indeed it is our duty, not to bow to the official when he visits our village and not to go and pay homage to him. Non-co-operation implies that we should not attend to this official's needs and provide no facilities to him. A bullock-cart-owner should not put his cart at his disposal. The potter should not fetch drinking water for him, the grocer should not provide him with any provisions, and the Headman should not give him a mattress belonging either to the village or to himself. This is so because the official expects these facilities by virtue of his office. The purpose behind not providing these facilities is not to impose any hardship on him but to put an end to his authority and it may also involve an element of civil disobedience.

What if the official is dying of hunger or suffering pain and no one is there to attend on him? At such a time, even at the cost of personal inconvenience, we should serve him. For instance, if his car breaks down, and he is in need of food, we should provide him food and not expect any money in return if he does not happen to have any. Supposing he is suddently taken ill and there is no one to attend on him, we should nurse him with as much care as we would show in nursing our own relatives. We bear him no ill will as a human being. We hate his administration. The Government has not so far become insane, as it has not had to put up with much inconvenience in carrying on the administration. However, once it is really inconvenienced, there is every possibility of its becoming so and transgressing all bounds.

It is possible that when this does take place, its officials will be ordered forcibly to exact anything they need from the public. At such a time full use could be made of boycott as explained above. At such a time we realize that boycott is surely our dharma. The official assumes that by virtue of his office the people are obliged to provide all facilities for him. People would be said to have set themselves free only when they can disprove this belief and in the process put up with any hardships that they may have to face. They will be said to have triumphed when they do not yield to such force. Today boycott can be regarded as being extremely simple. However, even when Government officials receive permission to commit robbery and the people, despite the fact that they have been rendered penniless, do not voluntarily give even a twig to be used as a toothbrush, they will be regarded as having carried out their duty of boycott. However, it should be borne in mind that even when this does occur, if the official is placed in a difficult situation and the authorities do not come to his rescue, we should attend to his needs. This should be considered an occasion for practising the same dharma towards a friend and an enemy. For a satyagrahi there are no enemies in this world, he cannot have any, he should not regard anyone as such. He would boycott even his own son or father if either of these two happened to be an official. For a satyagrahi, there should be no distinction between his own relatives and those holding no such relationship. He would never do to others what he would not do to his own relatives.

Let us now take the case of a Headman. Although the entire village wants him to resign, he does not have the courage to do so, or he does not wish to do so out of self-interest. He should not be boycotted on this ground. Such boycott would amount to coercion. Compelling the Headman to resign would amount to making him forcibly perform a meritorious deed. But there can be no use of force, so far as our dharma is concerned. A democratic form of government can never be established by getting anyone to do something by force. To use such force on this nation which is half-dead would be a great sin and, considering the matter solely from the point of view of expediency, we shall see that we shall never be able to serve our purpose by the use of such force. Whether we succeed or not, such force is nothing but violence. Whether the Headman resigns or not is for him to choose. It would be a good thing if he did so yielding to public opinion, but force cannot be used against him if he does not resign.

But he cannot exercise his authority; he cannot make the people do anything whatsoever for him by virtue of his authority. He has a dual role to play: he is an official and he is a villager. He will not get any services as an official; as a villager he has a right to get provisions, etc., which he wants. To refuse him these amounts to compelling him to resign. A satyagrahi cannot do so.

The people have a right to carry on a limited social boycott of those who defy public opinion and at times it becomes their duty to do so. Society should not honour a Headman who clings to his office for selfish reasons; in other words, although it would meet its daily requirements, it would sever all other connections with him; people would not attend marriages in his home, decline invitations to dinners from him and although they would share his sorrows, they would refuse to share in his enjoyments. There should be neither bitterness, nor ill will nor violence in such boycott. What should we do if the Headman happens to be our own brother? We should give him the treatment that we would expect from society for ourselves.

We have now considered three types of boycott:

1. boycott of officials because of their office;
2. boycott through use of force of such persons as Headmen; and
3. limited boycott of such persons as the Headmen who refuse to respect public opinion.

The first type of boycott deserves to be practised; it is our dharma to do so. Only those who have courage should practise it. It is well to remember that such boycott may result in occasions when we shall have to put up with extreme hardships. At present the Congress does not ask for such boycott. This latter has already begun in certain parts of Gujarat as the Gujaratis are used to it and have developed a good ability to practise it. It is the special dharma of Gujarat to do so in view of Sardar Vallabhbhai's imprisonment. However, those who cannot continue to carry it on at the critical hour should not do so as there is no harm in their not practising it. It will be harmful, however, if it is given up once it has begun.

The second type of boycott involving the use of force is always to be eschewed, as it involves violence, and there is every possibility of its doing great harm to the people.

The third, that is, limited boycott, is well worth practising. In every task which the satyagrahi undertakes, he has himself to bear suffering but he must never make the opponent suffer. The former is helpless if in the course of his own suffering or his

practising his dharma, the opponent has to suffer or put up with inconvenience.

At present what I ask of the people is civil disobedience of the salt law. If nothing more can be done, let everyone sit quiet; but it will be both dangerous and harmful if they retreat after having taken a step forward.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 30-3-1930

146. ABOUT HEADMEN AND MATADARS

Since so many Headmen and Matadars have handed in their resignations, the need has arisen to write something about them. I have heard so many rumours concerning these resignations that I myself have doubts about their veracity. If the resignations have been tendered without pressure, they are indeed very valuable. However, as compared to the services of Sardar, against whose imprisonment they are a protest, they have little value. The Gujarat for which Sardar Vallabhbhai has sacrificed his all—any sacrifice that Gujarat may make will not be too great. Although Sardar has sacrificed his all for Gujarat, his ultimate goal is swaraj. Hence Gujarat should make all possible efforts for it.

Let us examine the office of Headman from this standpoint. I did not understand its implications before as clearly as I do now. The Headman is the policeman or the Headman. It is through him that the Government collects the revenue and it is through him that it exercises its authority. Mamlatdars and other officers would become ineffective without him. It is not just anyone who is appointed a Headman, but only one who carries weight in the village. A register of such persons is maintained in Government offices and they are known as Matadars. It is from among these persons that Headmen are appointed by rotation for a period of five years. The Government pays a certain sum annually to these Matadars, amounting to about four or five rupees as allowance. A Headman gets a sum of thirty to fifty rupees every year as *nazarana*[1]. I use the word *nazarana*. No one regards it as salary. The amount received by the Headman is not of any great consequence to him, as ordinarily he is a well-to-do person. While considering what term should be used for this amount given to

[1] Allowance or bounty

him, I called it *nazarana*. The Amir of Afghanistan also receives a *nazarana*. However, I am aware that there is a great deal of difference between the *nazarana* received by the Amir and that given to the Headman. While the former consists of a large sum, the latter is a small one. There are other differences also. Nevertheless, the purpose underlying both these payments is to gain a hold upon the recipients.

Why do Headmen and Matadars get committed in this manner? It is certainly not for the purpose of enjoying an empty office, but because the office will enhance their prestige and because they can use their status in order to get money out of it. This cannot be done with honesty. It necessarily involves dishonesty. Hence, the office of Headman implies that by accepting this office the person concerned ceases to be the village *mahajan* and protector, and preys upon the villagers. It is not my intention to say that all Headmen are like this. But this is a conclusion I have reached after talking to a large number of Headmen.

Such Headmanship and Matadarship should be given up not for the sake of Sardar or swaraj, but rather for the sake of one's dharma and morality. These two classes of persons can make a significant contribution to the movement for self-purification that is on in the country at the moment. Others may advance the excuse that they have to earn their livelihood, but this does not apply in the case of these Headmen and Matadars. For them, it is like giving up titles. It is for this reason that I have described this situation as a garbage heap and the description is fitting. May the Headmen and the Matadars save themselves from this.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 30-3-1930

147. SPEECH IN OLPAD TALUK[1]

[On or before *March 30, 1930*][2]

I feel that in this struggle for freedom, the contribution of women will exceed that of men. Even today, women are making a far greater contribution to the Charkha Sangh. It is the women who operate the one lakh or one lakh and a half spinning-wheels that are plying in fifteen hundred villages. It is on account of the

[1] Extracted from "Swaraj Gita"

[2] Gandhiji entered Olpad Taluk on March 28 and left it on March 31, 1930, but the 31st was Silence Day for him.

skill of women that we can get the fine khadi made in Andhra. I tell you that it is absolutely true to say that swaraj is tied to a strand of yarn. These are the words of Brahma. Hence, whether we wish to boycott foreign cloth through the means of khadi or through mill-made cloth, it is women who are the spinners. Therefore, it is women who will play a larger part in the non-violent struggle for swaraj and children of the future will say that it was their mothers and sisters who had played the more significant role. You are capable of doing this. However, you should not touch a spinning-wheel if you do not know what compassion is.

Even in the cause of prohibition, if young girls come forward in the same manner as Mithubehn, you can make Olpad a dry area. If men approach drunkards, the latter will resort to obscene language; however, if young girls approach them and question them as to why they drink, ask them what indeed they are up to, whether it befits them under the influence of drink to fail to recognize a mother or a daughter, then on hearing such words steeped in affection, even the worst of drunkards will hang his head in shame and he will possibly burst into tears, and will take a vow in the name of Rama to give up liquor. But do Indian women have this moral fervour, this courage and this benevolence? However, I can provide this courage. Who will cast an evil eye on you if you walk straight on with the name of God on your lips? Be convinced at heart that purity itself is a shield.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

148. SPEECH AT SANDHIYER

March 30, 1930

I would like to congratulate yet another Talati who has handed in his resignation. Today, it is your special duty to cast away Government offices, regarding them as filth or refuse. You should practise your special dharma although you be imprisoned, hanged or have to starve. The Headmen of this place are especially loyal and ask others not to resign. They talk of unrealistic things. I humbly request them to hand in their resignations. You must carefully go through the article on this subject entitled "Limits of Boycott"[1] in *Navajivan*, and act on it after understanding its

[1] *Vide* pp. 150-3.

implications. As we are practising non-co-operation against the Government, to that extent we shall have to boycott it.

Let me not talk of salt now. The tax is unjust and evil and has a long history behind it. The Government will not be able to say whether the imposition of this tax is moral or immoral. However, look upon it as already abolished. I make this statement depending upon your courage to fight. Swaraj will not be won as soon as this tax is abolished. Other tasks will have to be accomplished after this is done.

Cloth merchants of Bombay have come here today. They have realized the importance of the boycott of foreign cloth far more than they did in 1921. My thoughts are directed only towards furthering the growth of Indian villages and Indian merchants. The latter have now realized that this struggle is as much for their benefit as for that of the poor. They alone are going to be the cloth merchants in independent India. Today theirs is an inhuman occupation, whereas under swaraj it will become a divine one. What then can merchants contribute to this struggle? They say that they will import goods from Japan and not from England. However, there are two great drawbacks in doing so. In the first place, it is not because of our enmity towards the British that we refuse to buy their cloth. We wish to eschew doing so as the Britishers want to extract money from the poor masses of India by means of trade. We should not even dream that by foreign cloth we refer to British cloth. Although you have been engaged in business so long, you have been unable to understand their cunning methods of carrying on business. Perhaps you do not know how they conquered Delhi. They are able to get all they want from even the smallest hole. That is how they captured Kashmiri Gate and became masters of Delhi. The Government of the East India Company won only after this. All this is tragic history. We should not allow a single loophole for foreign cloth through which they may make entry. No one can surpass them in betrayal. If you permit Japanese goods to be imported, Britishers will send their goods *via* Japan. They can do so even by giving a commission to the Japanese. Hence if you allow even a single yard of cloth to be imported from abroad, bale after bale will soon be-coming in. It is the business community of India that is responsible for India losing her independence and it is through the strength of this community alone that it has to be regained. Hence those who have already put in orders should bear in mind that their cloth will be lying about like unused goods. We shall get rid of even these through our self-sacrifice.

Now let us take the other subject of prohibition. Shrimati Mithubehn has sacrificed so much for this. Let us all join in this cause. If all this can be achieved, we can save Rs. 60 crores on foreign cloth, Rs. 25 crores on liquor and opium, and Rs. 6 crores on salt. However, in order to do so we should have the capacity for self-sacrifice, the capacity to unite and act as a group, intellectual capacity and the capacity to think. If all this is there, swaraj is near at hand.

You are aware of the virtues of my colleagues as scavengers. Now today I wish to talk of women volunteers. One of them is the grand-daughter of Dadabhai. She arrived today. She went to the village of Sayan and asked for brooms. She found the entire village filthy. Dadabhai's grand-daughter did not approve of the filth, so she started to sweep it away. The people who had not recognized her at first then recognized her and accorded her a very warm welcome. I do not speak of this example in order to give it publicity, but because it is worthy of imitation by all volunteers. Village sanitation is very essential today. Hence we are going to clean filthy villages. We have learnt from this lesson that she has brought swaraj near to us. I wish to sacrifice our women too. I wish to remind you that we have to effect self-purification. On the one hand we should practise civil disobedience, while on the other we should become progressively purer. May God give you the ability to understand all this.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

149. SPEECH AT DELAD[1]

March 30, 1930

As has been said in the *Gita*, that which tastes bitter at first but is finally sweet is wholesome. Hence, although I was agitated yesterday and still am, I have not lost my peace; the fiery words of love which I had directed towards my friends, companions and the assembly were not regarded by them as such. Instead of the dazzling lights of yesterday I see small, dim lights of hurricane lanterns.

Yesterday I did not find the outer and inner peace which I find in today's assembly. There was an artificiality in yesterday's

[1] Extracted from "Dharma Yatra"

lights. I found no affinity between those lights and our rural life. Such lights are a consequence of contact with cities, but vast numbers of villages are hundreds of miles removed from cities or railway lines. Our idea is to serve such villages. You do not even know those villages. Perhaps there are no such villages in Gujarat. But then, is Gujarat the whole of India? It is only a fraction of India. What is Gujarat as compared to Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces? While travelling through the last-mentioned province, one does not come across even one light at night; one only hears the barking of dogs. In comparison with the houses of Gujarat, houses there seem like ruins; one feels like crying and saying, 'O God! are there such houses in India!' And the people there are like skeletons. They cannot even get a mattress in the severely cold winters. They bolt the doors and just lie down covering themselves with rags. I remember those villages. Could we afford to have such lights in those villages? If a wealthy person were to give me five lamps for such villages and I were to take them there I would be committing *adharma* and be party to the sin to that extent. At places where the houses are like rubbish heaps and people are suffering from want of food and water, if anyone gives me the money I would first of all have wells dug and get their houses repaired, I would give them cows and spinning-wheels and, if it is convenient, also get gardens laid out. But I would certainly not take money for lights. Despite this, I am aware that because of the absence of light, about 20 lakh persons die of snakebite in such villages according to Government's figures. And there must be many others who are not accounted for! There are neither medicines nor lights to save their lives; however, I shall not dare to take such a lamp even there. That would amount to adding to their needs. That will be like giving *churma*[1] to a person who is fasting. Once anyone has added to his needs, he would go to any lengths to satisfy them. While millions of persons do not get even half a *roti* and enough of inferior salt, I ask myself while I eat what right I have to eat even this much. However, owing to attachment as also in the hope of doing service, I continue to take milk.

We have to consider our dharma. We want to face the might of a *rakshasi* empire, and this cannot be done either by looking upon it with contempt or by shouting loudly; it can only be done through the path of non-violence. Ahimsa may appear to be blind and crippled or clad in rags, but when God-given strength is added

[1] Kind of sweet

to it, the opponent loses his strength before it, he becomes paralyzed. We have to work with such a power, and this cannot be done with lights. I have hurt my companions by dispensing with these lights. They felt that without these the people would become restless. However, in my opinion, there was no need for such fears. The message that I am conveying to you at the moment does not appear to you to be a harsh one. Lights could not have brought about this result.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

150. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

Unrevised *March 31, 1930*

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I have been daily thinking of you and thinking of writing to you too. But time would not permit my writing. Today I must begin the day after the morning prayer with this.

I did not like your writing in the *Chronicle*.[1] It is not ahimsa. *The Indian Daily Mail* did not deserve the notice you took of it. If the notice had to be taken, the way was bad. Why should you spoil a good case by bad adjectives? And when you have a good cause never descend to personalities. Yours is a case where the saying 'Resist not evil' applies. It means: 'Resist not evil with evil.' You have neutralized the evil writing of the *I.D.M.* by a writing of the same kind. That you had a good case makes no difference. The *I.D.M.* writing was a piece of violence. You have supported your good case with counter-violence. So you see, what I want to emphasize is not merely bad manners. It is the underlying violence that worries me. Is this not quite clear to you? If it is, I would like you to promise to yourself never to write any such thing without submitting it to someone in whose non-violence you have faith. If you have realized the fundamental truth of what I have said, you will even partially mend the evil by apologizing to Wilson by writing a private note somewhat after this style: "Although I hold your charges and innuendoes to be wrong, I feel that I ought not to have adopted towards you the language I did. I want to follow Christ. I own that my conduct was not Christian. I had no right to judge you. I would feel

[1] Replying to a "particularly vicious attack on Gandhiji", the addressee had written to *The Indian Daily Mail* "in a sudden explosion of anger".

somewhat relieved if I could have a line from you to say that you had accepted my apology."[1]

You have undertaken at the call of duty a great task. I do not want you to damage it on the threshold of your career.

Your writing in *Young India*[2] was unexceptionable.

If my argument does not convince of course you will go on as you have begun. I know you are well able to take care of yourself. My concern was merely to elucidate the principle we hold in common.

How are you getting on? Are you keeping good health and insisting on getting what your body may need?

What is this paragraph about your engagement, etc.! Is it all true? Is your mother correctly reported?

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4532. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

151. LETTER TO JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

DELAD,
March 31, 1930

MY DEAR JAWAHARLAL,

I have your letter. I have not wired, as I do not think there are any Pathans at Dandi and, if there are, we shall cope with them. The advent even of good and true friends from the Frontier will cause complications. I want to present at Dandi, if I am allowed to reach it, the one issue without any avoidable complications. Things seem to be shaping very well indeed in Gujarat.

I am surprised that they have already arrested so many in Rae Bareli. I feel you are right in confining your attention to the salt tax for the time being. We shall know during the next fortnight what more we can or should do.

Unless you hear from me to the contrary, please take 6th April as the date for simultaneous beginning.

It is now nearing 10 p.m., so good night.

BAPU

A Bunch of Old Letters, p. 85

[1] The addressee send an apology and informed Gandhiji accordingly. *Vide* also "Letter to Reginald Reynolds", p. 177.

[2] The article "Modern English Mythology" appeared in the issue of March 27, 1930.

152. *SPEECH AT CHHAPRABHATHA*

April 1, 1930

Every day people tell me, "Today you will certainly be arrested." However, the tiger does not appear! The newspapers claim that I have become impatient at the Government not arresting me. This is partially true as it had been decided that while Sardar should remain free, I should court arrest. However, now that Sardar is in prison, I shall remain free. If we wish to secure the release of Vallabhbhai, we can only do so by carrying on this struggle.

Choryasi took full advantage of the last fight of Sardar, so you must make your full contribution to this movement. The Government has acted on the principle that all places will get the rainfall of swaraj in equal measure. We certainly have the strength to secure his release. If we were determined, we might say, from a superficial glance at the villages, that swaraj was round the corner. I am not however a person who will thus deceive himself. For the present I am trying to gauge the situation.

On inquiring about spinning-wheels I found a single one here. If matters are in such a state, we cannot secure Sardar's release. We have to go forward in all directions. At present we have set out to get the salt tax abolished. We shall tire out the Government by making salt at any number of places. However, all this can be achieved only when you put into practice the aphorism that 'swaraj lies in a strand of yarn'. The saying that it is easy to secure swaraj will only be proved true when 30 crores of people start wearing khadi and develop all aspects of swaraj, giving due consideration to rural problems. Swaraj is within our grasp if we practise this simple and easy duty. Consider how the bridge on the river Keem was built in a single night. If people act voluntarily in accordance with their capacities in this manner, swaraj is not difficult to secure. I thank all the wealthy capitalists of Bombay and Ahmedabad who have come here and contributed large amounts. I see the blessing of God in the fact that all sections of the community are helping this movement.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

153. SPEECH AT SURAT

April 1, 1930

There is no alternative but for us to do something about our troubles and sufferings and hence we have thought of this salt tax. You may say it is a godsend. It is so beastly and inhuman that through salt the Government taxes even little children and young girls. I have read the texts in which it is claimed that those who would carry on administration must find ways to collect taxes from all members of the public. I have gone through the holy books of Islam, Hinduism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism. All these state that women and the poor should at no time be taxed. If we go through the rules of war, we shall find that they lay down that old persons, children and women should be left untouched in war. The same is applicable to this tax. Muslims, Hindus, Parsis—all consume salt in like quantities. The Government has, however, found a device whereby all have been taxed at an equal rate. This is an inhuman law, a Satanic law.

I have not heard of such justice anywhere in the world; where it prevails, I would call it inhuman, Satanic. To bow to an empire which dispenses such justice is not dharma but *adharma*. A man who prays to God every morning at dawn cannot, must not, pray for the good of such an empire. On the contrary while praying or saying the *namaaz* he should ask God to encompass the destruction of such a Satanic empire, such an inhuman government. To do so is dharma. Although I have been saying this openly for the last twenty days, the Government has left me and my colleagues free. I admit that this is a familiar trait in this Government. I have been calling this Government inhuman till today. I admit however that I do not believe even for a fraction of a second that it does not have power or authority. It has an army, it has gun-powder and it can, by merely moving a finger, destroy someone like me. But it cannot readily transgress the limits it has set for itself. It is ashamed of itself before the world. I have never in my dreams or waking moments desired and not a single one of my colleagues or the thousands of persons who have come into contact with me has ever desired, that either the King or any of the officers of this Empire should be destroyed even though we call the

Empire tyrannical. This is for it something new and it does not know how to deal with it.

Today, on the banks of the Tapi, I wish to tell you the very same thing that I said on the banks of the Sabarmati on the eve of my departure. Would the Government have left even one of us free if we had said that we wanted to throw so much as a pebble at officers? Some people say that I want to be arrested. I do not regard it as my dharma to get arrested; but I am not afraid of it and I am giving you the *mantra* that none of you should be afraid. I want that you should not be afraid of being arrested or hanged while you do your duty. I wish to convert prison into a palace. If I wished to be imprisoned I would commit theft, practise deceit, resort to assault and abuse. I would then certainly be arrested, no one would spare me. The Government would not then say 'the Mahatma is dead; we shall not arrest him'. If the Government does arrest me, while in prison I will pray to God to bring about a change of heart in this Government and eradicate the sentiment which it has developed and which does not befit a human being. Sooner or later, it has no alternative but to arrest me and if it does not do so the whole of India will flare up within a short while. It is difficult for the Government either to imprison me or to leave me at large. Hindus, Muslims, Parsis—all should do their duty. When all of us start doing so, it will be beyond the power of the most tyrannical Government to arrest us.

Then there will hardly be any talk about arrests. Laws will get broken fast. One today, another tomorrow. And, when laws are destroyed, how can the Empire continue to function? Headmen and Talatis should resign. They should know that it is God alone who provides us our daily bread. What difference does it make whether or not you get Rs. 37 as a Talati? Mill workers—of whom I happen to be one—earn fifty rupees. However, although they can threaten mill-owners to go on strike, the latter do not dismiss them. They cannot do without the workers. If a Talati seeks employment in a mill and works faithfully, he can earn Rs. 50 or more if he shows good work. It will be the easiest thing for him to earn Rs. 37. Even if he happened to be a cripple, he could earn a living through spinning. Earning a livelihood is no problem to one who is prepared to work. What will the Government do when Talatis and Government servants are no longer afraid? Will it send for troops from England and entrust to them the work of Talatis and Headmen? What action will it take when Hindus, Muslims and Parsis all refuse to co-operate with it? It will be able to do nothing. All its limbs will become immobilized. In this manner,

swaraj will be in our pocket without any effort, without a single person having to go to jail. But whom shall I teach all this?

You find khadi coarse and expensive. You wish to appear naked while I wish to clothe you. It seems to have become a dharma today to appear naked in spite of the clothing that is worn. It is a *rakshasi* dharma, it is only under this Empire that going naked becomes a dharma. We wear clothes to cover our bodies. If you wish to go about naked, why clothe yourselves? Under this Empire, going naked is no crime at all. You may therefore remain so. If you do wish to clothe yourselves to cover your bodies, what better material than khadi can I offer you? Why do you wish for anything else? You are ashamed to wear clothes woven out of yarn spun by your mothers and sisters who are starving at home.

Today you must understand the dharma of the boycott of foreign cloth, because it is impossible to give up British cloth while still using Japanese material. If we attempt to do so, we shall not be able to achieve either of our objectives—we shall not be able to do away with British goods and Japan will start ruling over us instead of Britain. Then again, you may claim that cloth from both countries could be boycotted by using mill-made cloth. Mills have existed now for fifty years. Nevertheless there has been no boycott. Why? I have been shouting repeatedly that boycott is impossible without khadi. You could practise boycott with the help of khadi and the textile mills. But it is impossible today to carry on boycott depending on mills alone. Maybe it can be done in fifty or a hundred years. If you intend to do so through fighting and bloodshed that is a matter about which I know nothing, it is beyond my conception, it is something which I have renounced. If the women of Surat come to Mithubehn's assistance, prohibition can be accomplished in Surat district in no time. And what is so attractive about that trade? Those who run liquor dens can earn a living from some other occupation.

Whatever may happen in India, I am resolved that either I shall die offering civil disobedience or I shall win swaraj. I, therefore, called these people together and set out on this march. If I am alive tomorrow, I shall start out from here after receiving your blessings. I invite those who care to accompany me.

It is a blessing that Hindus and Muslims here are, for the present, united and are not quarrelling. I was afraid that since I am tired of the fighting, I might not like to go to a place where these two communities were fighting and if I did go there, that I would die. So I wrote to the workers not to take me to the city

in order to kill me, but to let me reach Dandi. I was informed, however, that for the present they were as good as united and that there were no quarrels between them. I do not believe, however, that Hindus and Muslims have become one yet. Why should there be any ill feeling, any distrust, or any fear of one another even for a fraction of a second between them? Can there be a worse government than the present one? There would be about a lakh officers in this country. What will you do with the remaining 299.9 million people? How will you account for them? To what purpose will you fight against one another? Give me a seat in the legislative assembly only if there is any left after giving them to Muslims, Parsis, Christians and all others. You may consider the salt tax as abolished if you are true to your salt. Even poor, needy Muslims are its victims. We can fight amongst ourselves after it is repealed. The religious books of both Hinduism and Islam regard liquor as something sinful. The Zoroastrians do not read their religious texts carefully. They should read what they say about liquor.

Please give me your blessings and pray to God that He may grant my wishes. Postpone the settlement of your disputes till after the salt tax is repealed. What strength you will gain if you do so! If this tax is repealed we shall save six crores of rupees. Then adding 25 crores to be saved by prohibition and 60 crores from boycott of foreign cloth—it makes a total of Rs. 91 crores. Take it as a present. If you refuse it, you will be answerable not to me but to God. May God grant you the wisdom to understand all this and to act accordingly.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

154. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Wednesday [April 2, 1930][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I have your letter. You have been doing very good work. If it is very necessary for you to go to Bombay for the sake of your sister, you may. But you should remember that such occasions will arise again and again. You and I can give no help in such matters. We cannot attend to two things at a time. When

[1] *Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne* gives April 1 as the date, which was a Tuesday.

you are faced with such problems, you may consult Nathji. I am here today; tomorrow I may not be.

I cannot say when they will arrest me. Here, too, there are rumours every day. So great is the power of non-violence that they do not have the courage to arrest me.

So long as you maintain good health, I am not particular about your eating fruit.

I am writing this before the morning prayer.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8744. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

155. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

April 2, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I have your perfect letter. You do not mention in it your having received my letters, but I presume that you have received them.

I have not received the pansy,[1] but I shall take it as received. Your rearing the plant with love is as good as presenting the flower to me. Giving it physically is mere ceremony.

Is it true that you beat children? Mirabehn has gently complained to me that you do.

I hope you take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6667. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

[1] The addressee had planted a few pansies near where Gandhiji slept at the Ashram. They flowered after Gandhiji had set out for Dandi.

156. SPEECH AT DINDOLI

April 2, 1930

We were told that it was doubtful whether Congress workers would be allowed to halt here at all. I must say, however, that so far we have received nothing but warm welcome everywhere. Both the factions in this village have united in looking after us well and have been equally warm in welcoming us.

There is the hand of God in this struggle. That is why one finds today that people have ceased to be enemies and become friends of each other. It is all the grace of God. In the Privy Council, disputes are not settled for generations together. You must free yourselves from that snare. We are carrying on this struggle against those who are riding on the backs of others. We have to free our millions of the burden which the white man has placed on them. But first we ourselves have to get off the backs of the poor. If anyone says that the Government will cease to function if the salt tax is repealed, I will say that such a person is not true to his salt. From the fact that a larger quantity of salt is sold when the tax rate is lowered, we can conclude that it is the poor who suffer the most from this tax. In the past the poor used to get even clothes. And in the past the workers in villages got everything in kind in exchange for their labour. However much the Government may try, can it ever make these foreign rags cheaper than khadi?

I congratulate the Headman for the other bit of news given me. I also congratulate the village which has such a courageous Headman. Those who have not yet resigned should do so and cease to be afraid of the Government. I am surprised a person like me who cannot wield even a tiny stick can make such a mighty Empire tremble. However, if Rama dwells in your hearts, it is easy to shake the foundations of not one but twenty empires more powerful than this one. Like the old lady at the charkha you should earn honest money.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

157. NOTES

Dog in the Manger

The volume of information being gained daily shows how wickedly the salt tax has been designed. In order to prevent the use of salt that has not paid the tax which is at times even fourteen times its value, the Government destroys the salt it cannot sell profitably. Thus it taxes the nation's vital necessity, it prevents the public from manufacturing it and destroys what nature manufactures without effort. No adjective is strong enough for characterizing this wicked dog-in-the-manger policy. From various sources I hear tales of such wanton destruction of the nation's property in all parts of India. Maunds if not tons of salt are said to be destroyed on the Konkan coast. The same tale comes from Dandi. Wherever there is likelihood of natural salt being taken away by the people living in the neighbourhood of such areas for their personal use, salt officers are posted for the sole purpose of carrying on destruction. Thus valuable national property is destroyed at national expense and salt taken out of the mouths of the people.

Nor is this all. I was told on entering the Olpad taluka that through the poor people being prevented from collecting the salt that was prepared by nature or from manufacturing it they were deprived of the supplementary village industry they had in addition to the spinning-wheel.

The salt monopoly is thus a fourfold curse. It deprives the people of a valuable easy village industry, involves wanton destruction of property that nature produces in abundance, the destruction itself means more national expenditure, and fourthly, to crown this folly, an unheard-of tax of more than 1,000 per cent is exacted from a starving people.

I cannot help recalling in this connection the hue and cry that was raised when I first proposed the burning of foreign cloth. It was considered to be an inhuman, wasteful proposal. It is generally admitted that foreign cloth is harmful to the people. Salt on the other hand is a vital necessity. Yet it has been and is daily being wantonly destroyed in the interest of a wicked exaction.

This tax has remained so long because of the apathy of the general public. Now that it is sufficiently roused, the tax has to

go. How soon it will be abolished depends upon the strength the people are able to put forth. Happily the test will not be long delayed.

Exaggerated Statements

Paragraphs have appeared in the Press to the effect that 18 of my companions have become ill and incapacitated. This is a gross exaggeration. It is quite true that that number had to take two days' rest at the Broach Sevashram. But that was because they were fatigued and footsore. With the exception of the case of smallpox which proved to be quite mild, there was no illness worth the name. One of the companions certainly had strong fever. But that fever too proved to be due to overzeal in marching. He had a wiry constitution and was over-confident about his ability to pull through without resting. He would not therefore rest till nature absolutely compelled him. But both are quite well now though being weak they are still being made to rest a few days. They expect to join the company at Surat. A third, though still a little footsore, insisted on walking, but had to rest at Ankleshvar. All the others are fit and marching daily. It has become necessary to make this statement in order to prevent anxiety on the part of guardians and friends. It would be ungrateful not to mention here the great attention the villagers are paying to the satyagrahis and the exceptional care that was bestowed upon the smallpox patient by the Charotar Education Society at Anand and on the footsore men by Dr. Chandulal's staff at Sevashram.

A moral may also be drawn from these accidents. The modern generation is delicate, weak and much pampered. If they will take part in national work, they must take ample exercise and become hardy. And exercise is as good and as effective as long vigorous marches. Gymnastics and the like are good and may be added to walking. They are no substitutes for walking, justly called the prince of exercises. Our march is in reality child's play. Less than twelve miles per day in two stages with not much luggage should cause no strain. Those who have not been footsore have gained in weight. I may add too that the hot Condy's fluid, baths and wet sheet packs are proving a most efficient remedy for smallpox.

The True Spirit

Shrimati Khurshedbai Naoroji came the other day to Sandhier, a halting station during the march. She was accompanied by Mridulabehn, the daughter of Sjt. Ambalal Sarabhai, Madalasa, the little daughter of Jamnalalji, Shrimati Vasumatibehn and Radha-

behn from the Ashram. They had to await a lift for Sandhier. They wanted to turn to national account the time at their disposal. They saw that the surroundings of the place were not overclean. They therefore decided to clean up the rubbish and so asked for brooms from the surprised villagers. As soon as the villagers realized what had happened, they also joined these national scavengers, some of whom were drawn from aristocratic families and the village of Sayan perhaps never looked as clean as when these sisters utilized their spare time for scavenging. I commend this true service, this mute speech of the sisters to the army of young men who are pining to serve and free the country. Freedom will come only when we deliver a simultaneous attack on all the weak points. Let it be known that all these sisters have enlisted as civil resisters and are eagerly, even impatiently, awaiting marching orders. In this campaign of swaraj by self-purification, it will be nothing surprising if the women outdo the men.

MOTILALJI'S MUNIFICENCE

The palatial Anand Bhavan, the pride of the Nehrus, is to be national property from 6th instant, the national Satyagraha Day. Motilalji has much service to his credit. Jawaharlal is his living gift to the nation. There was no need to add brick and mortar. But I know he has been pining to part with that spacious house which has the historical associations now made known to the public. Truly, Motilalji has spent as he has earned. Let us prove worthy of his services and his gifts.

Young India, 3-4-1930

158. REMEMBER 6TH APRIL

This will be in the readers' hands on Thursday 3rd instant. If there is no previous cancelling, they all may regard this as the word from me that all are free and those who are ready are expected to start mass civil disobedience regarding the salt laws, as from 6th April.

Let me gather up what has been said in these pages at various times.

The only stipulation for civil disobedience is perfect observance of non-violence in the fullest sense of the term.

Mass civil disobedience means spontaneous action. The workers will merely guide the masses in the beginning stages. Later the masses will regulate the movement themselves.

Congress volunteers will watch developments and render aid wherever needed. They will be expected to be in the forefront.

Volunteers may not take sides in any communal quarrels.

Wherever there is a violent eruption, volunteers are expected to die in the attempt to quell violence.

Perfect discipline and perfect co-operation among the different units are indispensable for success.

If there is true mass awakening, those who are not engaged in civil disobedience are expected to occupy themselves and induce others to be engaged in some national service, such as khadi work, liquor and opium picketing, foreign-cloth exclusion, village sanitation, assisting the families of civil resistance prisoners in a variety of ways.

Indeed if there is a real response about civil resistance regarding the salt tax, we should by proper organization secure boycott of foreign cloth through khadi and secure total prohibition. This should mean a saving of 91 crores per year, and supplementary work for the millions of unemployed. If we secure these things, we cannot be far from independence. And not one of these things is beyond our capacity.

Young India, 3-4-1930

159. PROHIBITION

Pandit Dev Sharma "Abhaya" proposes to launch a prohibition campaign in the area around Hardwar. I have given him my approval saying that if he has the self-confidence he should certainly take up the work. The idea of non-co-operation was born out of the spirit of self-purification. That is why in 1920-21 such a great campaign for prohibition became possible and even succeeded. The campaign had later to be halted, or one may say it stopped by itself, because impurity, that is, coercion, had entered it.

This time people have realized that coercion will not bring lasting results. Therefore, in areas where there is no risk of violence and where workers in sufficient numbers are available, prohibition campaign can and should be launched.

This campaign can be carried on in three ways:

1. by visiting the homes of addicts and dissuading them from drinking;
2. by persuading the liquor-booth owners to close their business; and

3. by picketing the liquor booths.

All these three can also be taken up simultaneously. In the first two there is no risk whatever. In the third a risk of violence exists. In regard to this the Government may issue prohibitory orders. If such orders are issued we should not be frightened. The easiest way to offer civil disobedience is to disregard them.

Clearly, everyone cannot do picketing nor can it be resorted to everywhere. So the campaign will be somewhat restricted in area. But even though it is restricted it is good work and it may also bring good results. Therefore if those who have the self-confidence take up such a campaign, it can only give me pleasure.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 3-4-1930

160. LETTER TO KAPILRAI MEHTA

Midnight [April 3, 1930][1]

CHI. KAPILRAI,

I got the news about you. There is no hurry. Come on Saturday, but only if you have no temperature. They will send you back from Navsari. Do not apply the wet-sheet pack any longer. Do take milk. There is no harm in taking hot-water bath. As for the cough, consult the doctor. He says that you should remain in Surat for at least ten days. I also see no harm in your coming on Saturday if you have no temperature on that day.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Show this to the doctor.

CHI. KAPILRAI SAINIK
ANAVIL ASHRAM, SURAT

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 1594. Courtesy: Kapilrai Mehta; also G.N. 3972

[1] From the postmark

161. SPEECH AT PRAYER MEETING, VANJH[1]

April 3, 1930

Only two days now remain before we conclude this march. We shall then set to work. A large number of people will be present. I told you about the scarcity of water in Dandi. We shall have to use water as if it was milk, like the Jain sadhu who lived in the forest. I must also tell you that they are finding it very difficult to arrange for our meals. So after reaching Dandi all that you will be given three times a day would be ½ seer of gram, ½ seer of puffed rice, and boiled water with a *tola* of ghee and jaggery added. You shall get used to this for we have to lead austere lives.

Another piece of information that I have received is that the Government intends to use fire-engines to stop us. We have prepared ourselves for death from cannons and guns, compared to which this is nothing. Of course, even with jets of water, the Government can kill us through torture. It is certainly painful. However, you must bear in mind that not one of us will retreat. I do not think the Government will be so cruel, but we must be prepared.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

162. SPEECH AT NAVSARI

April 3, 1930

Navsari is the headquarters of our Parsi brethren. The total number of Parsis in the world is less than a hundred thousand and of these the majority live in the Bombay Presidency, chiefly in Navsari and Bombay.

If I come across a Parsi friend anywhere in the country while touring, I never fail to recognize him.

An English writer called Lang while comparing charitable attitudes the world over has established that in generosity Parsis, if we consider their number, top the list. The Parsi brethren

[1] Held at 4 a.m.

who are like a drop in the ocean, have made the world talk of their generosity. History records no other instance of a community having practised such dispassionate generosity. Whenever I have stretched out my hand before Parsis, it has never returned empty.

In the satyagraha in South Africa too, Parsi brethren were in the forefront. Sheth Rustomji sacrificed his all. That is why I have sung his praises like a minstrel.

How can I repay this debt to the Parsis? Being a beggar, how can I repay my debts with money? I am not a saheb or a Viceroy that I may give them high offices or titles. Hence, today, having come to Navsari, I shall sing their praises and take away something from them. Parsi brethren are, of course, there in this struggle. A Zoroastrian friend who is like a brother to me and who is suspected of having cancer, is nevertheless dying to take part in this struggle.

Take the case of Dadabhai's grand-daughters. These sisters are just crazy and impatient to join the struggle. What more then need I say about the assistance from Parsis? However, I want something special.

You may take it that the salt tax is as good as abolished. Ever since I set out from the Ashram, at various places Parsis have showered blessings on me and said: "May you triumph. God is with you. And come back after securing swaraj." And I shall return, if I am alive, after winning swaraj.

You can make the largest contribution if, instead of joining in the salt struggle, you participate in the prohibition movement.

We ruin ourselves by spending Rs. 25 crores on liquor. Because of this evil habit our homes have been destroyed. Although I was a lawyer in South Africa, I moved about a good deal among our labouring brethren there. These labourers also came to see me about their problems. And, since I had made myself part of their lives they told me their joys and sorrows, their tales of woe. And they would break down and cry while telling me how they had ruined themselves through drink. I know from experience that many of my labourer brethren in Ahmedabad are in a similar plight. Those who are given to drink often cannot distinguish between wife, mother and daughter. Man degenerates into brute. Whoever gets entrapped in this vice becomes an animal. I have with my own eyes seen the captain of a ship, when drunk, rolling in vomit. I ask my Parsi brethren to help me rescue addicts from this vice.

Mithubehn saw people given to drink. It moved her and leaving her mother, her home and her belongings she has plunged

into the cause of prohibition. However, the sacrifice by one Parsi lady is not sufficient to complete this task. The heart of every Parsi must be touched for the sake of this cause. And, where it seems necessary, persons like me may even have to offer satyagraha. Parsis are intelligent and capable and they earn crores of rupees. They are godfearing. If, from today, Parsi owners of liquor booths give up this trade on realizing that to do business in liquor is a sin, other liquor-booth owners will certainly follow their example.

When we save thus 25 crore rupees we shall have rehabilitated crores of poor homes. The gods will then shower flowers upon us.

If you can enter the hearts of people and make them give up liquor, it will generate such power that we shall be able to achieve whatever we want.

I ask the ladies in particular to help in this. They should visit the homes of those who drink and plead with them. I have seen women of the Salvation Army do this. Why should not the women of India do the same? Are they—the Hindu, Muslim and Parsi women — less capable of doing good? Are not those who are caught in the vice their own brothers? If I go and reason with them, they will quarrel with me as they will with other men. They will not, however, be disrespectful or insulting to any woman. They are not such beasts that they will not understand you. As soon as they come in contact with you they will be awakened, they will step back and, seeing the love and affection pouring from your eyes, they will conclude that it is some *sati* or *yogini* confronting them and ashamed of themselves they will give up liquor.

When you sisters come to know the wives and daughters of drunkards, when you make friends with their ignorant, straying children, when you see that they continue to drink although they own nothing but the sky above them and the earth below, you cannot but feel inspired to take up this sacred cause.

I leave this message for the sisters in case the Government whisks me away to prison. Gujarati women are trained in such matters. Women in no other part of India have received as much training as they have. Hence all you sisters must plunge into the field which has already been prepared by Mithubehn.

In this non-violent struggle, women can play an even greater part than men because they are the very embodiment of renunciation and compassion, i.e., of non-violence. A man understands the dharma of non-violence through his intellect whereas a woman has imbibed it even before her birth. A man escapes with very

little responsibility, but women have to serve their husbands, their children and other members of the family.

Parsis have laid me under a crushing burden of debt to them. They have made a slave of me by their words of love. And a slave enjoys the right to demand more from his master. In this *yajna* of self-purification, I shall not be satisfied even if you drown me in money or provide me with volunteers. I shall be satisfied only when the entire Parsi community hears my appeal and when Parsi brothers and sisters identify themselves with the work that Mithubehn is doing.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

163. SPEECH AT DHAMAN

April 3, 1930

Many people from this taluka were my clients in South Africa. Many people from the surrounding villages also had contributed their share in South Africa. Of the eighty of us many are from Baroda State, since this state is spread all over Gujarat. Hence we cannot make any distinction between the two. The natives of this place gave me much help in the Satyagraha in South Africa. Their leaders also were Muslims. Right to the present moment the Congress has pursued the policy of having a certain number of people from this community in its higher echelous. In South Africa, however, this was not the practice. Among the Muslims there was Ahmed Kachalia who roared like a lion. He was a man of his word and I can say as a satyagrahi that I have not come across a single Hindu or Muslim in all India who could surpass him in courage and integrity. Kachalia qualified himself as a satyagrahi even in difficult circumstances. He put up with everything in order to keep his word. His son Ali too studied under me in South Africa. I knew him quite well.

I have greater expectation from Dhaman because I have found here thirty spinning-wheels. I am happy that there are so many here. The fact is that although the subjects of Indian States cannot participate in this struggle, they can work for khadi and prohibition to their hearts' content. Secondly, I should like to congratulate you that your village has not been guilty of the cruel and stupid practice of many parents who get their children married without

Antyajas of this village, nine men and ten women have vowed not to take liquor or carrion. In such things women must go along with men.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

164. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

BIJALPUR,
April 4, 1930

MY DEAR REGINALD,

I was delighted to have your letter. There is no question of restoration of confidence, for it was never lost. Assimilation of true ahimsa is a slow and sometimes painful process. And very few realize that there is such a thing as mental *himsa* and that it needs to be eradicated. It is to me a great joy that you saw the thing at once. I do not mind the other letters you have written. I should be glad if you will make another promise to yourself, viz., never to write for the Press for the time being. Let *Young India* be your sole vehicle for the time being. What do you say to your writing a brief note in *Young India* repenting of the unconscious indiscretion?[1] I understand what you say about your engagement.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4533. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

165. SPEECH IN VIJALPORE

April 4, 1930

After this meeting is over, I have to make two more speeches before I reach my destination. I shall make a speech at Dandi if I have to. Forty-one Headmen have handed in their resignations and the President of the Taluka Committee has congratulated them. Besides the 47, I have been informed today of some seven more.

Bharat Bhushan Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has resigned from the Legislative Assembly and six others have followed him. These six are also well-known men. On the one hand Bharat Bhushan Malaviyaji has resigned, on the other the Headmen have

[1] No such note appeared in *Young India*.

resigned. The action of the latter is more valuable, for Malaviyaji was not a Government servant. He had entered the legislature with a view to serving the country if possible. I can think of no one who has served the country with such single-minded devotion as Malaviyaji has. Nevertheless I assign greater value to the resignations of the Headmen of Gujarat. The reason is that Malaviyaji has not been a part of the administration of this country. The latter is run by these Headmen and Malaviyaji in fact only lends a gloss to the administration which we fear. The gloss can always be separated from the utensil. Headmen, however, are not a gloss which can be separated. They along with the Talatis are the two egs on which this Government rests. An enumeration of the Headmen and Talatis in the seven lakh villages of this country would give us fourteen lakhs of such legs and in this manner the resignation of each Headman would amount to the loss of one leg. It is for this reason that these resignations have value. This is so, however, only if they have been tendered sincerely. Sardar, who once had an income ranging between Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 2,000 a month has to beg for his meals today. For him, it was not easy to resign. The poor Headman, on the other hand, receives a paltry sum of Rs. 50 or 51-8-0 by way of a bounty. What are the Headmen then clinging to? If they want to be loyal to Sardar they will have to be disloyal to the Government.

I am going to Dandi. But I would request you not to follow me there. If you do, come as soldiers carrying your food on one shoulder and water on the other. Come with the intention of doing some work. Do not come with the idea of having a picnic. The stock of khadi is fast being exhausted. You must use it sparingly in the same manner as you use ghee. If you cannot obtain khadi, it is your duty to come clad only in loin-cloths made of khadi, but on no account must you come clad in foreign cloth. Those who drink must not come to take the pledge.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 6-4-1930

166. *STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS*

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

God be thanked for what may be termed the happy ending of the first stage in this, for me at least, the final struggle for freedom. I cannot withhold my compliments from the Government for the policy of complete non-interference adopted by them throughout the march. After the graceless and childish performance in the matter of Mr. Vallabhbhai's arrest and imprisonment and equally unprovoked arrest and imprisonment of Mr. Sen Gupta, I was wholly unprepared for this exemplary non-interference. I am not so foolish as to imagine that the Government has suddenly lost their proved capacity for provoking popular resentment and then punishing it with frightfulness. I wish I could believe this non-interference was due to any real change of heart or policy. The wanton disregard shown by them to popular feeling in the Legislative Assembly and their high-handed action leave no room for doubt that the policy of heartless exploitation of India is to be persisted in at any cost, and so the only interpretation I can put upon this non-interference is that the British Government, powerful though it is, is sensitive to world opinion which will not tolerate repression of extreme political agitation which civil disobedience undoubtedly is, so long as disobedience remains civil and, therefore, necessarily non-violent.

It remains to be seen whether the Government will tolerate, as they have tolerated the march, the actual breach of the salt laws by countless people from tomorrow. I expect extensive popular response to the resolution of the Working Committee. I have seen nothing to warrant the cancellation of the notice I have already issued, that all committees and organizations throughout the length and breadth of the land are free, if they are prepared, to commence from tomorrow civil disobedience in respect of the salt laws. God willing, I expect with my companions (volunteers) to commence actual civil disobedience at 6.30 tomorrow morning. 6th April has been to us, since its culmination in Jallianwala massacre, a day for penance and purification. We, therefore, commence it with prayer and fasting. I hope the whole of India will observe the Nationa Week commencing from to-

morrow in the spirit in which it was conceived. I am positive that the greater the dedication to the country's cause and the greater the purification, the speedier will be the glorious end for which millions of India consciously or unconsciously are striving.

Speeches and Writings of Mahatma Gandhi, p. 761

167. A MESSAGE

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

I want world sympathy in this battle of Right against Might.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: *Mahatma Gandhi* (Album), p. 87

168. MESSAGE TO AMERICA[1]

DANDI,
April 5, 1930

I know I have countless friends in America who are in deep sympathy with this struggle but mere sympathy will avail me nothing. What is wanted is concrete expression of public opinion in favour of India's inherent right to independence and complete approval of the absolutely non-violent means adopted by the Indian National Congress. In all humility but in perfect truth I claim that if we attain our end through non-violent means India will have delivered a message for the world.

The Bombay Chronicle, 7-4-1930

[1] This was given to S. A. Brelvi, correspondent of the Eastern News and Press Agency, New York.

169. SPEECH AT DANDI

April 5, 1930

When I left Sabarmati with my companions for this seaside hamlet of Dandi, I was not certain in my mind that we would be allowed to reach this place. Even while I was at Sabarmati there was a rumour that I might be arrested. I had thought that the Government might perhaps let my party come as far as Dandi, but not me certainly. If someone says that this betrays imperfect faith on my part, I shall not deny the charge. That I have reached here is in no small measure due to the power of peace and non-violence: that power is universally felt. The Government may, if it wishes, congratulate itself on acting as it has done, for it could have arrested every one of us. In saying that it did not have the courage to arrest this army of peace, we praise it. It felt ashamed to arrest such an army. He is a civilized man who feels ashamed to do anything which his neighbours would disapprove. The Government deserves to be congratulated on not arresting us, even if it desisted only from fear of world opinion.

Tomorrow we shall break the salt tax law. Whether the Government will tolerate that is a different question. It may not tolerate it, but it deserves congratulations on the patience and forbearance it has displayed in regard to this party.

If the civil disobedience movement becomes widespread in the country and the Government tolerates it, the salt law may be taken as abolished. I have no doubt in my mind that the salt tax stood abolished the very moment that the decision to break the salt laws was reached and a few men took the pledge to carry on the movement even at the risk of their lives till swaraj was won.

If the Government tolerates the impending civil disobedience you may take it for certain that the Government, too, has resolved to abolish this tax sooner or later. If they arrest me or my companions tomorrow, I shall not be surprised, I shall certainly not be pained. It would be absurd to be pained if we get something that we have invited on ourselves.

What if I and all the eminent leaders in Gujarat and in the rest of the country are arrested? This movement is based on the faith that when a whole nation is roused and on the march no

leader is necessary. Of the hundreds of thousands that blessed us during our march and listened to my speeches there will be many who are sure to take up this battle. That alone will be mass civil disobedience.

We are now resolved to make salt freely in every home, as our ancestors used to, and sell it from place to place, and we will continue doing so wherever possible till the Government yields, so much so that the salt in Government stocks will become superfluous. If the awakening of the people in the country is true and real, the salt law is as good as abolished.

But the goal we wish to reach is yet very far. For the present Dandi is our destination but our real destination is no other than the temple of the goddess of swaraj. Our minds will not be at peace till we have her *darshan*, nor will we allow the Government any peace.

Those Headmen who have resigned their posts should prove themselves true to their word and should regard it as a sin to serve this Government till freedom is won.

For the last four or five days, I have been speaking about other constructive activities also, and they should be taken up immediately in this Jalalpur taluka. Surat district is notorious for the drink habit, and the Jalalpur taluka is particularly so. Now that the wind of self-purification is blowing here, it should not be a difficult task to eradicate the drink evil altogether. There is sin in every leaf of the palm tree. Its only value lies in the ruin it brings us. This plant is like poison to us. All palm trees should therefore be cut down.

There should not be a single person in Jalalpur taluka wearing foreign cloth. Everyone who comes to Dandi should come with the intention to participate in, and offer his mite to, this swaraj *yajna*.

I would not like anyone coming to Dandi wearing foreign cloth. If it is our wish to turn Dandi into a place of pilgrimage or a bulwark of swaraj, everyone coming here should be dressed exclusively in khadi. I know that the stocks of khadi in the khadi stores are about to be exhausted, and if, therefore, you fail to get a full-length sari or dhoti and come wearing only a khadi *langoti*, you will be welcome here as a civilized person. If, ignoring my suggestion, any of you come to Dandi wearing foreign cloth, I shall have to place at the points of approach to Dandi, volunteers who will kneel before you and request you to wear khadi. If you feel offended by their doing so and slap them in the face, those satyagrahis will let themselves be slapped.

Dandi was chosen not by a man but by God. How otherwise could we have chosen for the battle-field of satyagraha such an out-of-the-way place—a place where no food grains are to be had, where there is scarcity of water, where thousands can assemble only with difficulty, walking ten miles from the railway station, and where if you are travelling on foot, you have to negotiate creeks full of slush and mud? The truth is that in this struggle we have to put up with suffering. You have made the road from Navsari to Dandi famous throughout the world by arranging for free drinking-water at frequent intervals all along it. If this struggle did not have your approval, your blessings, why would you be doing this?

Dandi should be a sacred ground for us, where we should utter no untruth, commit no sin. Everyone coming here should come with this devout feeling in his heart. If you brothers and sisters come forward as true volunteers and commit civil disobedience of the salt law, no matter what force the Government threatens to use against you, and if you do whatever else you may be required to do, we shall have in us the power to attain in a single day what we hold to be our birthright.

Time was when I was infatuated with British rule, as British law taught that the person of every individual is sacred. According to that law, the police cannot kill or manhandle a man even though he might be guilty of murder. It is the duty of the police to produce the man alive before the court. Nor has the police any authority outside the jail to seize from a person even goods alleged to have been stolen. But here the very opposite is true. How otherwise can the police have the authority to decide whether I hold a handful of salt or pebbles?

Every man's house is his castle. Our body also is a fort of a kind. And once salt has entered that fort, it should not be allowed to be forced out of it even if horses are made to trample on your heads. From today we should begin cultivating the strength of will to see that a fist holding salt does not open even if the wrist should be cut off.

Unauthorized entry into a house is a barbarous act. It is for a judge to decide whether I hold in my hand salt or dust. The English law holds the human person to be sacred. If every official assumes the authority of a judge and enters our homes, he would be acting as a robber.

But the officers in India, when they feel impelled, throw the English laws to the winds or ignore them completely at their sweet will and, resorting to the Act of 1818, render them all ineffective.

They have started arresting one leader after another. But according to the principle of this struggle, that the leader is one who endures the utmost suffering, one of those left outside should assume leadership and take the movement forward.

This is a struggle not of one man but of millions of us. If three or four men can fight and win swaraj, they will rule the country afterwards. Hence, in this struggle for swaraj millions should offer themselves for sacrifice and win such swaraj as will benefit the vast masses of the country.

The Government is taking away from us all the eminent leaders one after another. If we get ready to follow in their footsteps and do the duty shown by them, we can smile at what the Government is doing, but if we fail to do our duty we should feel ashamed. The leaders are behind the bars, and now we in our turn should take their place.

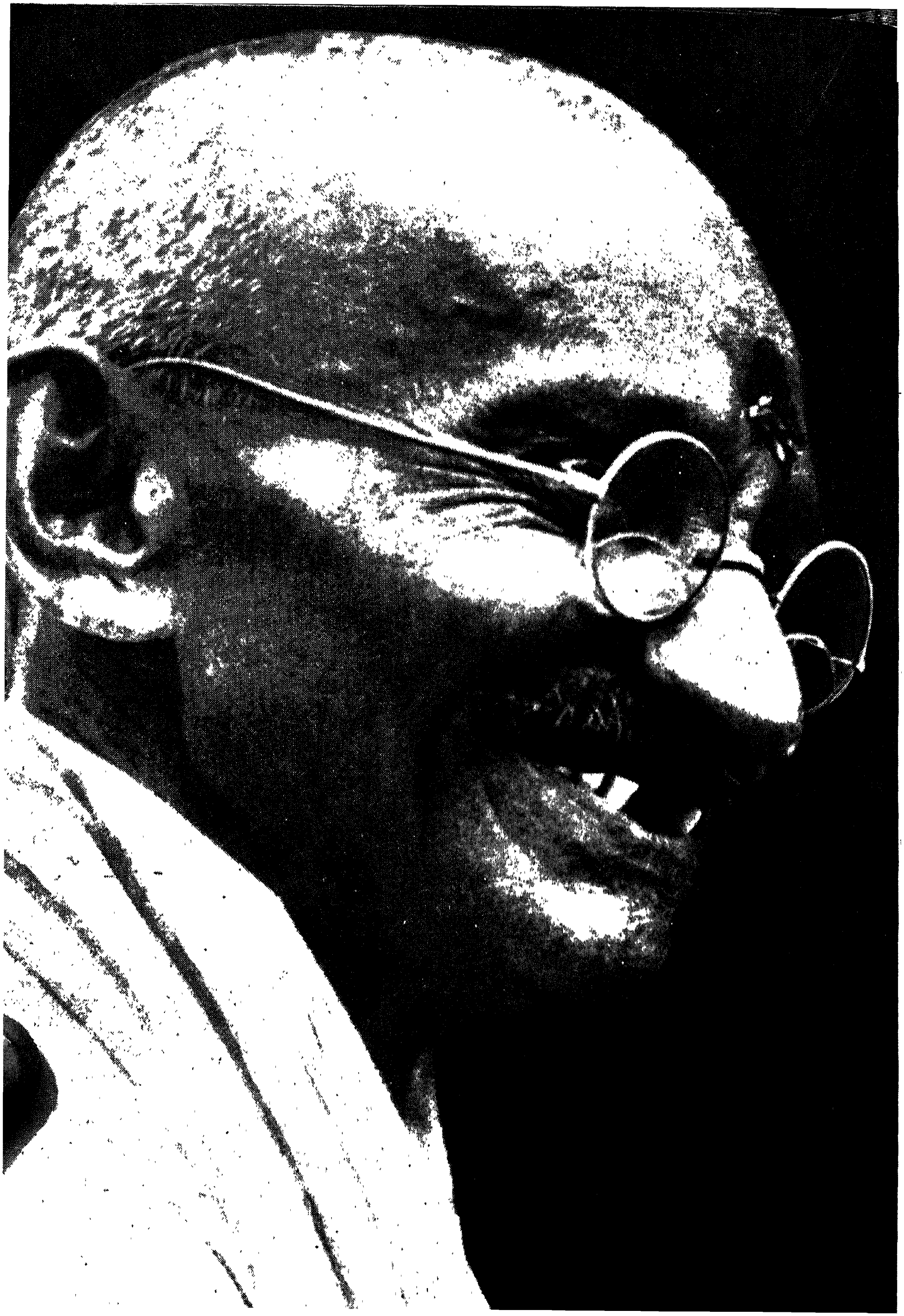
It is true that many of the leaders in and outside Gujarat have been jailed, that many volunteers have been wounded because they would not part with the salt in their hands, and that, at places, some were beaten so hard that they became unconscious. But I remain unmoved. My heart now is as hard as stone. I am in this struggle for swaraj ready to sacrifice thousands and hundreds of thousands of men if necessary. Since we have embarked upon a movement which will send thousands to jail, how can we weep over their imprisonment? In this game of dice we are playing, the throw has been as we wanted. Should we then weep or smile? This is God's grace; let us remain unmoved and watch His miracles.

If in spite of our breaking several salt laws the Government takes no notice of the camp here till the 13th, we shall disband it after that date and go somewhere else. But this plan depends entirely on the Government. For the present, we can but take what the Government gives.

If you have not yet gone out to remove salt, let the whole village get together and go. Hold the salt in your fist and think that you are carrying in your hand salt worth Rs. 6 crores. Every year the Government has been taking away from us Rs. 6 crores through its monopoly of salt.

You can today take the pledge not to eat salt supplied by the Government. You have a mine of salt right at your doorsteps.

There is at Rohtak a humble, brave and selfless public worker named Lala Shyamlal. At the time of the non-co-operation movement in 1921 he gave up his law practice but resumed



it when the tide was low and earned thousands of rupees. However, his heart melted once more after the Lahore Congress and he pleaded to be taken into the Ashram. He also expressed his eagerness to join this march of satyagrahis to Dandi. But why should I exchange this gold mohur for a mere pice? So I sent him back to Rohtak. As he writes to me, he took leave of me after he had understood the value of non-violence better than before. He has now vowed never to give up non-violence and never to prove disloyal to the Ashram principles. This Lala Shyamlal has now been arrested on a charge of spreading disaffection against the Government.

He must have made some speech on the lines of my writings in *Young India* in which I preach disaffection as our moral duty. In the first place, they should apply Section 124A to the person who has been every moment praying for the destruction of the Empire and has also been attempting to destroy it—apply it, that is, to myself. But the true position is that Section 124A can be applied only to a person who wishes to overthrow the Government by rebellion or armed action. It can never apply to a person who wishes to destroy the Empire through self-suffering by following the path of non-violence and truth. But I am no judge. I have even been disbarred.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 13-4-1930

170. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
[Before *April* 6, 1930][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

If Reginald has asked for a name and if you call him Angad[2] the name is quite appropriate.

Send money to Krishnadas as and when he asks for it. You need not consult me so long as he asks for Rs. 100 at a time and the total does not exceed Rs. 1,000. If you yourself feel like asking me, you may do so.

You should remove all luggage from Jamna Kutir and similar buildings in which in any case there is hardly any luggage and which require no watch.

[1] From the contents it appears this was written before the letter to the addressee dated April 6, 1930.

[2] A *Vanara* messenger in the *Ramayana*

If Giriraj is not restless, he should remain there for the time being and look after the tannery. It is necessary that we go on making shoes, etc. If, however, he is keen on coming, he may. I am writing to him.

It is difficult to say what we should do about the money which we receive for the satyagraha campaign. My view is this. The money which has been received from villages during the march should be handed over to the Provincial Committee. The other sums which we receive may remain in the Ashram for the present. However, do as Mahadev advises. If you have doubt, consult Vallabhbhai. His word should be final.

I am of the opinion that if Bhansali keeps watch at the Ashram at night, you should let him do so. He is a man of a frank nature. He sleeps very little at night. His keeping watch will be a pure action, and he will probably catch the thief. However, discuss the matter with Imam Saheb, Mahadev and Mirabehn.

We have given to the Labour Union school Rs. 25,000 from the Birla Fund. Whatever the figure, send a date-wise statement of account to Gordhanbhai Patel, Secretary of the Mill-owners' Association. Send a copy to me too.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Send it immediately. We shall get that money.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8095. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

171. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES IN SURAT DISTRICT[1]

[Before *April 6, 1930*]

It is within your power to remain peaceful and at the same time set Sardar free before his sentence of three months and three weeks expires. I ask one hundred per cent of the Headmen, and not fifty per cent of them, to resign. The same applies to the Talatis also. These two are the two pillars on which the Government rests. The political structure of India is supported on these. If these crack, the whole structure will crumble and mingle with the dust.

* * *

Beware! Burn up all false resignations. We can do without these. If there are people who think that since I am a Mahatma

[1] Extracted from "Swaraj Gita". The source does not mention either the places or the dates of the speeches.

and have practised penance, and since Sardar is on my side, they will be able to go back to their posts in a couple of months, they are in for disappointment. Swaraj may be won within a couple of months or may take a lifetime. It may be that we shall not win swaraj even after my bones and those of Sardar are reduced to ashes. Now, however, we have become outlaws, and that too of a kind that cannot be disregarded. We have become outlaws by refusing to co-operate with an Empire on which the sun never sets. This Empire is a mass of untruths, however large that mass may be. It will bow at the very touch of the breath of truth. However, this can only be accomplished when such truth is kindled within us. Hence today, at the very outset, I wish to make up my accounts and warn you not to betray us. To betray me is to betray Sardar, Mother India and yourselves. No one craves for your resignations. Do not tender them under the assumption that the task will be accomplished in a trice. Resign only on the understanding that you will never again get back your posts as headmen or Talatis.

* * *

The women sang the song "It is easy to win swaraj", but that has yet to be demonstrated. I have said so much about salt, now I shall add a couple of lines about the spinning-wheel. Do not conclude from this that whereas swaraj lies embedded in a mountain of salt, it does not lie concealed in a strand of yarn. In fact, swaraj lies in the latter only. There is no other means of bringing happiness and peace to millions of human beings. Whether all of you come forward to prepare salt or not, keep chanting the *mantra* of khadi. And what about liquor? Mithubehn is crazy about this cause. We should be ashamed of continuing to drink when a Parsi lady gives up her home because of it.

* * *

I am tired of repeating the conditions for swaraj every day. Let me now practise the dharma that still remains even in addition to it. I have only to point out your dharma to you. As I had decided that regardless of what happened in the country, I should lay down my life or win swaraj through civil disobedience, I invited others to accompany me and I have set out. If I am alive tomorrow, I shall set out from here also after receiving your blessings. I invite those of you who are ready to accompany me. The others who do not do so should wear khadi and produce it. There is a dearth of khadi. I, who am one of its producers, am going away. If I were around, I would supply it to all by getting it from anywhere. Here I am, a producer of khadi, setting forth

with others who also produce it, and those of its producers who are left behind do not have the capacity to meet the needs of all. It is therefore your duty to produce as well as wear khadi.

* * *

Even in my dreams, I would not wish anyone ill—be he an Englishman, a Parsi or a Muslim. I am a well-wisher of all. How then can it do anything to me? It dare not do so. It would arrest me, if it could muster up the requisite courage. And even if I should be arrested, while in prison I would pray to God to bring about a change of heart in this Government and to eradicate the sentiment that has been born within it which does not befit a human being. In other words, even in prison I would wish it well. I do not wish to see the King or his officers murdered; hence, it becomes difficult to arrest and imprison a person like me. The authorities could certainly arrest me if they wanted to, but I congratulate them on being ashamed to do so. However, such a situation will not continue always. They have no alternative but to arrest me some day, and, if they do not do so, the whole of India will flare up within a short period. I am aware that all you men and women have not come here today to court arrest. For me, it is all the same whether I am arrested or remain free. All of you will be in that position one day.

The Government's plight is that of the serpent which has swallowed a rat. It would find it hard to resort to either course of action—allowing me to remain out or putting me behind the bars. I am pointing out this ordinary duty to you. Everyone, whether a Hindu, a Muslim or a Parsi, should follow it. When all of us do so, it is beyond the power of any Government to arrest us.

* * *

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-4-1930

172. TO THE WOMEN[1]

As I am fully aware of the fact that countless women in India are illiterate, the principles of education which I have formulated are concerned with how they can attain their due status in spite of their lack of education; and it is from these that the means for securing swaraj have been derived. I can make the claim that this struggle has been so organized that the women of India, if they so desire, can make a bigger contribution than the men. The entire khadi movement depends on the women. This movement would collapse today if the women were to refuse to extend their co-operation to it. At least five times as many women as men are lending support to the cause of khadi. As a matter of fact, their number should be regarded ten times as large since there will be ten women working on a loom which runs for eight hours. Everyone knows that the contribution of men towards providing yarn for looms is very small, but even in other aspects of khadi work a good number of women are contributing their share. There are of course a large number of women working the loom. Hence, with regard to khadi it has already been established that this activity depends solely on women and it is because of this that women in India have made such progress which is unprecedented in Indian history and beyond what anyone had imagined to be possible. I saw this in the course of my three tours around India and today, walking through Gujarat, I see the same thing and that in a measure which can be calculated by the rule of three. That is to say, the awakening among women in a particular area has been in proportion to the number of spinning-wheels working there.

Considering this and keeping in mind the impatience of women to take part in civil disobedience, I felt that if women truly wished to take risks, if they wished to leave a stamp not only on the history of India but on the history of the world, if they wished to see a resurgence of the civilization of India, they should find an exclusive field for themselves. Let us consider this. If women wish to participate in civil disobedience, they can do so in a very few days. But, after having found something, I am not interest-

[1] The first three paragraphs of this article are not translated here. They are covered by the first three paragraphs of "To the Women of India", pp. 219-20.

ed in inviting them to offer civil disobedience against the salt law. Even if women participate in this, they will be lost amongst the men. For I expect that at every place large numbers of men will come forward. I do not believe that women will come forward in such numbers. And even if they do, neither the women nor the men will have anything to do and the salt tax will be repealed. The more I think the more I feel that we shall not have much difficulty in getting the salt tax abolished.[1]

I feel that it is, or it can become, the special field of women to bring about a change of heart in these people [the drink addicts]. History testifies that man cannot conquer hearts as speedily as woman can. If women wished they could take up the work of prohibition today. The following is my idea of it:

1. Trained women should start satyagraha units at various places, go in deputations to the owners of liquor booths and request them to give up this trade.

2. They should go to the homes of drink addicts and also start picketing liquor booths, singing devotional songs and preventing those entering them from being caught in the vice.[2]

If liquor booths and opium dens were closed down, it would mean a saving of 25 crores of rupees of the people's money. It is possible to collect 25 crores of rupees of revenue in some other way. Only one result would follow from this; there would be a heavy reduction in the expense on the army and the administration — so heavy a reduction indeed that the very nature of the administration would be changed. The present policy is based on distrust of the people. Tomorrow's policy will be based on trust of the people. In a policy so based there would be neither a large police department nor a large army.

But why should I involve women in this tangle? At this juncture I merely offer to women the field of prohibition without entering into discussion of any other field of activity. I believe that Gujarat is the best place for carrying on this activity. The physically delicate Parsi lady Mithubehn Petit is the person who has prepared the ground for this work. And it was her remarkable effort that suggested this field of work to me. Hence, all that remains to be done is that Mithubehn's work should be multiplied a hundredfold. Not that only a hundred women should prepare themselves for the work, but, rather, that countless women should

[1] One paragraph following this is not translated here. It is covered by paragraph 4 of "To the Women of India", p. 220.

[2] One paragraph following this is not translated here. It is covered by paragraph 5 of "To the Women of India", p. 220.

prepare themselves and the activity should increase a hundredfold. The manner in which the work is at present being carried on should be slightly modified. All men should step aside. They should only do such work as is allotted to them by women. But the principal work of picketing, of persuading people, of pleading with them and of taking deputations to the liquor-booth owners should be done by women alone.[1]

I have only given an outline of the scheme as I visualize it. Details may be filled in. It is my desire that women should become pioneers in this task and should give this activity such momentum that it will shake up the people as well as the Government.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-4-1930

173. WELLS FOR ANTYAJAS

A few weeks ago, *Navajivan* published Thakkar Bapa's appeal for wells for our *Antyaja* brethren. Some men from Bombay recently came to see me at Sandhiyer. Thakkar Bapa, too, was present at the time. I suggested to those friends that they themselves should fill Thakkar Bapa's purse. Rs. 40,000 was not too big a sum for them to give. These *Antyaja* friends require that amount. Immediately, one of the rich visitors paid the sum needed for sinking one well. Shri Narandas consulted the others and undertook to raise without delay the whole sum needed. This filled me with great joy and I complimented the visitors. I now advise these friends to collect this sum and place it at the disposal of Thakkar Bapa. Wells can be sunk only during the next three months. No well can be sunk after the monsoon has set in.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 6-4-1930

[1] Two paragraphs following this are not translated here. They are covered by the last two paragraphs of "To the Women of India", p. 221.

174. *MY NOTES*

Some Questions

QUESTION. Should one insist upon khadi in jail?

ANSWER. I was not aware of this problem when I conceived the khadi vow. I feel that such insistence is unnecessary. Ordinarily a satyagrahi should not oppose any of the prison rules which do not violate his dharma. But everyone should decide his own duty in this regard. If someone has taken a vow that under no circumstances will he wear anything but khadi, he should certainly insist upon khadi. But I would consider it improper for one to take such a vow and go to jail.

Q. Anyone who follows the rule of eating only after having spun 160 strands of yarn would prefer the spinning-wheel to the *takli*. Should one therefore insist on being provided with a spinning-wheel and facilities for carding? Spinning on a *takli* would take much time and interfere with prison work, hence the spinning-wheel is an absolute necessity. Is one justified in insisting upon spinning 160 strands or should one be satisfied with less?

A. Spinning is a *yajna* so one can insist upon being provided with a spinning-wheel and facilities for carding. Anybody who has taken the vow of spinning must insist on both. It is not enough that a *takli* is provided. Whether one should be satisfied with less than 160 strands depends upon the vow. If the vow is to spin 160 strands one cannot do with less.

Q. What should one generally do when, for instance, the food provided is dirty, or when no urinals are provided, or when one is required to complete the calls of nature within two or three minutes and is not allowed to visit the lavatory again if the need arises, or when one is over-burdened with work, or when one cannot sleep owing to the warders shouting out the roll-call all night long? What kind of insistence concerning what matter would be regarded as dharma?

A. The common rule in such matters is that those inconveniences with which one can put up and which do no harm to one's self-respect, should be tolerated while in the remaining matters one should fight as befits a satyagrahi. I would not tolerate dirty food or filthy utensils. I would not tolerate dirty

urinals, but if facilities for this were provided in my cell I would not object to these. I would certainly take my own time with regard to evacuation of the bowels and would not tolerate being hustled in this matter. I would tolerate the noise of roll-call.

To the Heartless Men

The heartless Gujaratis do not appear to be concerned about Gujarati women being killed every day by Primus stoves. I have just been informed of the death of two women. During the present pilgrimage, I have had first-hand experience of the dangers involved in using these stoves. Even one of my experienced and skilled colleagues has had two narrow escapes. As a result of this, I have prohibited the use of such stoves altogether. Women do not know how to use a Primus stove, for it does require some skill. And our women cannot put it on a table. Hence, it is the duty of men to boycott it. So long as they do not do so, the deaths of the young girls and women from the use of this stove will be on their heads. Even Primus stoves which have been bought should be discarded. It is an illusion that the Primus saves time. We must also consider all the attention it needs when it goes out of order.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

175. SWADESHI

The cloth merchants of Bombay are talking of boycotting foreign cloth. The Gujarat Sabha of Ahmedabad is doing the same. The intention of both is to help as much as possible the movement for the boycott of foreign cloth. However, if either of them should make a mistake, harm may be caused to the movement.

We now find the following varieties of swadeshi:

(1) Pure khadi, i.e., khadi made from hand-spun and hand-woven yarn.

(2) Cloth made in India in mills owned and run by Indians and from yarn that is also produced in such mills.

(3) Cloth made in such mills out of yarn that is wholly or partly of foreign origin.

(4) Cloth made in any mill which, although located in India, is owned and controlled by foreigners.

(5) Any object that is made in India.

(6) Any object for the making of which part of the work has been done in India, for instance, a musical instrument assembled here, though all its parts were made abroad.

The following are the various forms of boycott.

(a) Boycott of *all* foreign cloth.
(b) Boycott of British cloth alone.
(c) Boycott of all British goods.
(d) Boycott of all foreign goods.

In my opinion (1), i.e., pure khadi alone is swadeshi and, true boycott implies (a), i.e., boycott of all foreign cloth. If item No. (1) is proved to be swadeshi, other necessary items will prove their swadeshi character. We shall be unable to satisfy the need for even one article of swadeshi which is essential, if we try to obtain all swadeshi goods which may be found to be desirable.

Only one form of boycott, i.e., item (a), boycott of all foreign cloth, is essential and this can be achieved through khadi alone.

The reader should remember that discussion on other swadeshi goods has been going on ever since the Congress came into existence forty-five years ago. Even so, no conclusion has been reached. The question of pure swadeshi, that is khadi, was first taken up only nine years ago. Nevertheless, we have achieved a fair amount of success there. For the furtherance of this cause a national institution has come into being the like of which I do not find anywhere else in the world. It is only through khadi that the experiment of civil disobedience on such a large scale became possible.

The reader should remember that although we have been talking about boycott of British goods for the past forty-five years, we have not met with any success in this sphere. Boycott of foreign cloth on the other hand has now proved so effective that the people have developed faith in the possibility of such a boycott.

In my opinion it would be harmful from a practical standpoint to divert the attention of the people from the boycott of foreign cloth and it will be short-sightedness to think of attempting such a boycott without the help of khadi. If such a boycott were possible with the help of Indian mills, this could have been achieved by now, i.e., during the last fifty years. Yes, the mills could certainly help khadi in making the boycott effective. I have already shown how this could be done in practice.

The swadeshi of Indian mills is not merely useless, it is also harmful. This is because it puts khadi on a par with mill-made cloth. This is like the friendship between a tall and a short man. If the short man has the same rights as the tall man, he really has none. One can see with the naked eye that someone who is short cannot stand alongside someone who is tall. Hence, if the tall man wishes to be just to the short man he should always put the latter in the front. He should be ready to renounce anything in his

favour. It may even be necessary for him to lift the short man on his shoulder in order to sustain him. The relationship between khadi and mill-made cloth is exactly of this nature. Whereas the latter is well set on its feet, the former has as yet only learnt to crawl. Hence anyone who has not taken the vow to wear pure khadi can at least act in the following manner. He can refuse to wear any cloth which has a single thread of foreign yarn in it. Instead, he should take the vow of using pure khadi alone. And, in case he is unable to do so, he should use cloth made in mills which are exclusively owned and controlled by Indians.

If khadi is not constantly kept in view, the result will be that the price of cloth made in mills in India—not Indian mills—will keep increasing and the boycott will never become effective.

1. In this age, no amount of effort would make it possible for mills to make cloth sufficient to meet the country's needs.

2. The concern of mills generally is, and will be, profits.

3. The Government can, at any time, suppress the mills.

4. The present trend indicates that mills in this country are passing under foreign ownership and control.

5. As mills are dependent upon foreign machines and foreign techniques, they could, all of a sudden, be faced with a difficult situation.

While on the contrary:

(1) If the sentiment for khadi becomes widespread in the country, we can produce today as much khadi as we require.

(2) Khadi does not require as much capital as mills do.

(3) It does not require as much technical skill.

(4) It may be said that potentially there are thirty crores of labourers employed in the production of khadi.

(5) All the implements required for the production of khadi are made in the country.

(6) Khadi cannot be suppressed either by the Government or any other power.

(7) Khadi can be produced in every home.

(8) It is not necessary to make khadi at one place and send it to another. At present it does have to travel to some extent because the sentiment for khadi has not gained much ground.

The reader will see from all this what precisely swadeshi dharma means. While practising it, anyone who has imbibed the spirit of swadeshi will also readily abide by it in all other things. Anyone who wears khadi out of ignorance, by way of imitating others or out of hypocrisy, will not be regarded as having taken the vow of khadi, despite the fact that he wears it. Such

fashionable khadi-wearers could not be regarded as advancing the sentiment for khadi. Anyone who uses khadi with knowledge will start denying himself all foreign goods which he can do without.

Let us now turn to boycott. It is madness to try and boycott everything. The idea is indefensible.

It is impossible to boycott only British goods or British cloth. This is because such goods or cloth can find their way into the country under the guise of other foreign goods or cloth. During the days of the Partition of Bengal, British cloth was being sold as swadeshi with the British markings on it removed. So when we think of boycotting British cloth alone, no purpose is served except that of giving an impetus to cloth made in Japan and other countries.

So far I have considered the matter only from the view-point of the boycott of foreign cloth.

But if we consider the situation after swaraj, if we consider the interests of the starving millions, we can only think of khadi.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

176. MILL-OWNERS OF AHMEDABAD

In saying that I am greatly pleased at the kindness shown by the mill-owners of Ahmedabad, I am not merely being polite: I am expressing the deepest feelings of my heart. Their presence on the eve of my departure from Sabarmati, their visits to me from time to time and finally their coming to Surat in a group out of their affection for me are a happy indication that this struggle is not directed against mill-owners or against capitalists.

However, I myself attribute a special significance to their presence and their blessings. I have been associated with them now for almost fifteen years. During this period, despite the fact that perhaps some of them regarded my conduct as being detrimental to their interests, they have accepted me as a friend and our relationship has been cordial even when there has been a dispute between us. I believe that their co-operation on this occasion is, to some extent, because of that relationship. If this conclusion is correct, I have the right to expect some more practical support from them in addition to their presence and their blessings.

They have taken a step forward by their decision that henceforth they will boycott foreign cloth and use only swadeshi cloth. This resolution, though commendable, has loopholes. Some may

regard khadi as swadeshi. Others may prefer mill-made cloth with a border that is made of foreign yarn. The dharma of swadeshi cannot be practised in this manner. In my opinion, the purest form of swadeshi to the extent it is practicable is khadi. If this is not possible, then swadeshi should mean cloth made in mills owned and controlled by Indians out of yarn spun in those mills. If even this cannot be done, not only is swadeshi meaningless but it is also harmful from the point of view of boycott.

If mill-owners encourage khadi and run their mills with an eye to attaining the object of swadeshi, I regard the boycott of foreign cloth as something very simple. If I find the time, I hope to consider this subject in detail in a separate article. Here I wish to show how and in what ways mill-owners can specially assist this movement. It is beyond argument that the relations between mill-owners and workers should be friendly. If, instead of opposing each other, they were to help each other they would encourage the cause of swaraj. In this regard the following points should be borne in mind:

(1) Mill-owners should carefully remove the everyday inconveniences the workers have to face.

(2) Since mostly I am not there and Sheth Mangaldas is old—even older than I am—there should be a permanent *panch* to solve problems as they arise.

(3) Mill-owners should consider the Majoor Mahajan a friendly body and have faith in it. They should make full use of its assistance and co-operate fully with it.

(4) With a view to improving their moral and social condition labourers should be given financial and other assistance whenever there is need for it. In other words, schools, hospitals, reading-rooms and such other institutions meant exclusively for them should be supported without anything being expected by way of return.

(5) Those labourers, clerks and others who wish to participate in civil disobedience or such other national work, should be given help and wherever it becomes necessary to relieve them, this should be done reserving their right to return. If it becomes necessary to support the families this should be done.

(6) In order to free labourers from the vice of drink, mill-owners should start canteens and provide recreation to suit their tastes. In order to induce abstention those who give up liquor should be recognized and encouraged in various ways.

(7) There should be no profit motive behind the production of cloth by mills. The purpose of such production should be boycott of foreign cloth.

(8) Mills should never produce cloth with the intention of

passing it off as khadi; they should not mark it as khadi or stamp it with the spinning-wheel; instead, they should produce such qualities of cloth as cannot be found in khadi at present. In other words, they should decide upon the quality of cloth to be produced in consultation with the Charkha Sangh.

(9) Mills should stock khadi, propagate it and give of their talent and experience for its production.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 6-4-1930

177. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

April 6, 1930

MY DEAR REGINALD,

I hope you had my previous letter[1].

The letter from Wilson[2] is quite good. God will keep you out of harm's way.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 4534. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

178. LETTER TO LALA DUNICHAND

DANDI,
April 6, 1930

DEAR LALA DUNICHAND,

The news that Lala Shamlal of Rohtak has been arrested has prompted Lala Surajbhan to rush to the Punjab. I have approved of the suggestion. Please make what use you like of him. I do hope that you and Mrs. Dunichand will not fail to sacrifice your all in this final battle for freedom.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 5588

[1] *Vide* p. 177.

[2] After the addressee had written an apology to Wilson, author of the critical comment in the *Indian Daily Mail*, the latter sent a "very friendly reply" which was forwarded to Gandhiji.

179. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA[1]

DANDI,
April 6, 1930

Now that a technical or ceremonial breach of the salt law has been committed, it is now open to anyone who would take the risk of prosecution under the salt law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that a worker should everywhere manufacture salt and where he knows how to prepare clean salt should make use of it and instruct villagers to do likewise, telling the villagers at the same time that he runs the risk of being prosecuted. In other words the villagers should be fully instructed as to the incidence of salt tax and the manner of breaking laws and regulations in connection with it, so as to have the salt tax repealed and it should be made absolutely clear to the villagers that this breach is to be open and in no way stealthy. This condition being known they may manufacture salt or help themselves to salt manufactured by nature in creeks and pits near the seashore, to use it for themselves and for their cattle and to sell it to those who will buy it, it being well understood that all such people are committing a breach of the salt law and therefore running the risk of prosecution or even without prosecution to be subjected by the so-called salt officers to harassment. Thus the war against salt tax should be continued during the national week up to the 13th instant. Those who are now engaged in this sacred work should devote themselves to vigorous propaganda for boycott of foreign cloth and use of khaddar. They should also endeavour to manufacture as much khaddar as possible. As to this and prohibition of liquor I am preparing a message for the women of India who, I am becoming more and more convinced, can make a larger contribution than the men towards the attainment of independence. I feel they will be worthier interpreters of non-violence than men, not because they are weak, as men in their arrogance believe them to be, but because they have greater courage or the right type and immeasurably greater spirit of self-sacrifice.

[1] Gandhiji gave the interview after he had broken the salt law by picking up a lump of salt mixed with mud.

QUESTION. Now that you have infringed the salt law and Government have not interfered with you what do you intend doing afterwards? —the Free Press representative. Gandhiji replied:

ANSWER. Oh, I shall continue to manufacture illicit salt.

You must subordinate bread-earning to national interest. You must take interest in gaining independence for India and freeing her from the heavy burden of this infernal tax. You must all take concerted action and co-operate in India's interest.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, 7-4-1930

180. SPEECH AT DANDI

April 6, 1930

At four in the afternoon Gandhiji addressed a meeting. Reviewing the day's programme he remarked that the beginning of the national week had been very auspicious. Whether Government arrested them or not they had to do their duty. He was sure that all over India people must have started satyagraha on this day. Proceeding, he said there was not much of natural salt at Dandi since Government servants had taken timely care to destroy it. That was a monstrosity which it was their duty to get rid of. When they made a beginning in the morning he had himself picked up more mud than salt, but after washing and cleaning he could get two *tolas* of pure quality which was sufficient for his day's requirements. That was only a beginning but that signified great things. Today those who had broken the law had become either thieves or owners.

He then referred to the raid at Aat. Mr. Antia, the police officer in charge, had shown considerable prudence in his behaviour. That was the victory of ahimsa. What an amount of public money Government had wasted in confiscating that salt!

Gandhiji then made a reference to the arrest of Lala Shamlal of Rohtak under section 124A. He paid a glowing tribute to Lala Shamlal for his excellent national work.

He could not understand the policy of Government in arresting other workers and leaving him alone. Not that he was anxious to be arrested, but that was not a just course. He did not expect any greater honours by his arrest. He was already a Mahatma. He did not want the title of Mahatma.

He was not at all anxious to go to jail. Surely he enjoyed the good climate of Dandi. Government must arrest him before others, because he was the greatest offender. It was the duty of every person in Rohtak to commit breach of 124A under which Lala Shamlal was arrested. In conclusion, Gandhiji asked the people not to eat taxed salt any more.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

181. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Sunday, After 10 p.m. [April 6, 1930][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I hear that Manilal Kothari has been arrested. Ramdas and others have already been arrested. All this is very good. For you also it is a matter of days or hours. As for me, it will make no difference whether I am inside or outside jail.

I have sent the articles for *Young India* directly to Mohanlal. You may or may not be there to receive them.

If you get time, organize the women. There will be no harm if the Ashram women make a start. On the contrary, it may be necessary that they do so. I am referring to the campaign against drinking.

Surajbhan is going to the Punjab, with my permission, after hearing about the arrest of Lala Shamlal.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Here they have not laid hands on anyone so far. Sarojini Devi has remained here and has decided to take Abbas's place if the old man is arrested.

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11472

182. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

KARADI,
10.15 p.m. [April 6,][2] *1930*

CHI. NARANDAS,

You must have received the reply to your question. Perhaps it will be better if Purushottam comes over here. The air here is

[1] The arrests of Manilal Kothari, Ramdas and others were reported in *Navajivan*, 13-4-1930. The letter was evidently written on the preceding Sunday.

[2] From the reference to Surajbhan's going to the Punjab, it appears this was written the same day as the preceding item.

very good. About arrangements for water we must wait and see what can be done. There are no signs yet of my being arrested.

That lady Kamaladevi is a very good-natured woman. She will stay for about fifteen days. If the place suits her child, she may even stay on. If she wishes to, she is worth encouraging. See that she does not feel lonely.

A Bengali gentleman from Santiniketan will be arriving there for a fortnight's stay. Cultivate his acquaintance. He, too, is a frank-hearted man. After gaining some experience, he will return to Bengal.

It will be very good indeed if Ratilal sticks to the work he has taken up.

Tell everyone that it is because I do not get time that I do not write letters to them.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Surajbhan is going to the Punjab with my permission.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8096. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

183. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 6, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

No time to send you a long love letter. It is now nearing 11 p.m. How much yarn have you now left to be paid for the two Sanghs, to what dates have payments been already made?

More when time permits. Manilal has gone to replace Ramdas.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5388. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9622

184. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Silence Day [On or before *April 7, 1930*][1]

CHI. MIRA,

If you feel like coming, you are at liberty to come. You won't see Dandi. If you are quite calm, you need not come. Even if you are to join the prohibition work at a later stage, you will be none the wiser for coming. All the talk will be in Gujarati. But if you want to come because you must see me, then come some other day for that sole purpose. But you must judge for yourself. I leave you entirely free to decide.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

You will carefully follow *Young India* nowadays.

From the original: C.W. 5384. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9618

185. BARBAROUS

[*April 7, 1930*]

The threatened has after all happened. I congratulate the Government on having commenced arrests in right earnest of salt tax resisters at least in Gujarat. They have arrested Sjt. Manilal Kothari and all his companions, so also Sjt. Amritlal Sheth and his companions, Dr. Chandulal Desai of Broach Sevashram and his companions. They have arrested Darbar Gopaldas, Sjt. Fulchand, Sjt. Ravishankar, the intrepid reformer who has weaned the brave but ignorant Rajputs of Kheda from many an error. They have arrested Ramdas Gandhi, Keshavbhai Ganeshji, Chimanlal Pranshankar and others. All this the Government had the right to do. But they had no right to do what they did today[2] at the village Aat four miles from Dandi. The police tried by force to snatch salt from the civil resisters. This they had no right

[1] Gandhiji seems to refer to the women's conference held at Dandi on April 13 which passed a resolution on prohibition. The preceding Monday was April 7.

[2] Monday, April 7, 1930

to do, if they were representing a civilized Government. There was no provocation offered. The resisters were not running away. Their names could have been taken. But they insulted these brave men and through it the nation by touching their sacred persons without warrant and without just cause. One of the resisters by name Ukabhai Rama of Bardoli was slightly injured on the wrist. I admit that the police went unarmed to the scene of action. They will probably admit that there never was the slightest occasion for carrying arms. For the people were obviously and absolutely peaceful, nevertheless this laying hands on the people for the purpose of seizing the salt they were carrying was morally wrong and even wrong I fancy according to English common law. But I do not know what powers are given by a statute that makes a crime of undefined cowardice.

This first drawing of blood, however little, brought down practically the whole of the village to the scene. Women were just yet to take no part in the act of civil disobedience, nor were the men of the village expected as yet to do so. But they, men and women (some with babes in arms), immediately they heard that salt was being forcibly seized and that one of the volunteers was injured, rushed out, and men on one side and women on the other descended to the channel and began to dig out the salt. As soon as I heard of the attempt at forcible seizure from the persons of the resisters, Monday being my day of silence, I wrote on a piece of paper that Shrimati Sarojini Devi and Sjt. Abbas Tyabji should go, and if the police did not desist they should also dig out salt and challenge them to seize it from their hands. But I charitably assume that the police had seen their mistake before these friends reached the scene and had not the heart to touch a whole villageful of people including women. The satyagrahis, however, would not be satisfied without my presence although I might not speak. They wanted me evidently to see with my own eyes how they had behaved and with what zest the whole village was participating in the struggle. Ukabhai Rama was brought to me with the salt rescued. I went. For me it was a soul-stirring sight. The forcible seizure served a good purpose. It brought life to the whole village. Nevertheless, for the sake of the Government and for the sake of keeping the salt war on the gentlemanly plane, I wish this ugly incident had not happened.

Legal procedure may be a cumbersome business for the Government. But since they have begun well let them not end ill. Let it be a pure trial of strength between them and the people. If they will resort to terrorism and if I am not mistaken, they

will find the people, men as well as women, ready for any ordeal they may prepare for them. Salt in the hands of satyagrahis represents the honour of the nation. It cannot be yielded up except to force that will break the hand to pieces. Ukabhai, as he was describing the action of the police, said, "God gives strength to a satyagrahi to defend what is entrusted to him." Let the people defend the salt in their possession till they break in the attempt, but they should do so without malice, without anger, without an angry word. The police have the easiest way open to them of taking possession of the salt. Let them arrest the civil resisters, and they can take possession of the salt for they have possession of their persons. But it can become forfeit only after conviction, not before.

Young India, 10-4-1930

186. STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

April 7, 1930

The reports received so far indicate that the magic wave of mass civil disobedience in Gujarat has had its effect on the Government. The Government has lost no time in arresting the leaders of this movement but I understand that it must have paid similar attention to the leaders in other provinces as well. This is something we can congratulate ourselves on. It would have been surprising if the Government had allowed the satyagrahis to act as they pleased. It would have been considered barbaric if it had attacked the life and property of the satyagrahis without any previous inquiry. One cannot object to trial and conviction according to established procedure. Prison and such other punishments are the ordeal through which a satyagrahi must pass. A satyagrahi can be said to have fulfilled his purpose only when he does not flinch, when he does not betray those whom he represents and when he is not scared by the arrest of his leader. The time has come when everyone will have to be both soldier and commander.

I shall be deeply grieved if even after these arrests, students who attend schools or colleges run or controlled by the Government do not leave these institutions. People should make salt only after realizing the risk involved in doing so, or, alternatively, they should collect the salt that has naturally accumulated in creeks and holes on the seashore and use it for themselves and their cattle and sell it to those who may wish to buy it. Everyone

should realize that in defying the salt law they run the risk of legal action being taken against them. It is also possible that the officers of the so-called salt department may harass them without resorting to any legal steps. The struggle against the salt law has to be carried on in this fashion during the whole of the National Week ending on 13th April. All those who do not take part in this sacred task should devote themselves wholly to the powerful movement for the boycott of foreign cloth and use khadi. They should try and make as much khadi as possible and carry on the struggle for prohibition.

I am preparing a message to the women of India. I am becoming increasingly certain that in the struggle for securing swaraj, the women of this country could contribute a greater share than the men. I feel that women will be able to explain the meaning of non-violence to the country more effectively than men. Not because men, out of vanity, regard them as weak but because they possess real courage in a greater proportion and an immeasurable sense of dedication.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 13-4-1930

187. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. The first day at any rate Gujarat celebrated very well and the Government on its part may also be said to have celebrated it quite well. Except for what happened at Aat village, there has been nothing that one might complain about. I have written about Aat for *Young India* and you will find the article there among the papers. The sentence awarded to Durbar and others may be regarded as reasonable. As my article is based on the information I have received, you may make in it any alterations and additions you think fit. If you have the courage and if you wish, you may distribute salt at a public meeting; but from this distance I still think that it will be an unnecessary risk to try to distribute salt at a public meeting. I have explained to Gangabehn everything about women and about the drink evil. If you have time, think on the subject and discuss it with others. If you don't, you may drop the idea.

I am busy at the moment with a long letter which I have just received from the Kheda district.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11473

188. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

DANDI,
Silence Day [April 7, 1930][1]

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I do get your letters. But what can I do? I can get no time and, therefore, have not been able to write to you. I very much wish to write, of course. I have to write about the struggle under the ever-present possibility of arrest and days pass. I should indeed be happy if you are permitted and go to the Ashram. The Government has still not arrested me. It has started arresting others. Ramdas has been arrested. I have, therefore, sent Manilal to take his place. Our work is going on very well here. Dandi is a small village; its water and air seem to be excellent.

I stop here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3363

[1] From the reference to Ramdas Gandhi's arrest the letter appears to have been written on Monday, April 7, 1930. *Vide* also "Letter to Prabhavati", p. 233.

189. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 7, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I send with this a cheque received from Bhai Shantikumar. Treat it as an anonymous contribution.

Gangabehn will start from here tomorrow morning.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have permitted Jayantiprasad to go to the U.P.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8097. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

190. LETTER TO SHANTIKUMAR MORARJI

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

CHI. SHANTIKUMAR,

I have your letter enclosing a cheque. I would not expect a cheque from you just now. If, however, you send one, it will have for me a hundred times its value. I know that your heart is here. We have, however, to practise non-attachment. It is the quintessence of all religious teaching. I have given autographs and blessings in both the copies of the *Gita*. May God give to both of you *Shanti*[1] and *Sumati*[2] and may you be worthy of your names.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4718. Courtesy: Shantikumar Morarji

[1] Peace of mind

[2] Wisdom. Sumati is the name of the addressee's wife.

191. ADVICE TO VOLUNTEERS, AAT[1]

April 7, 1930

Gandhiji asked them to cling to their resolve under any circumstances. He warned them against putting any resistance that would encourage violence on the part of the police. They had every right, he said, to hold tight to their bosom the salt which they might collect. That was no violence. To them their salt was as dear as their blood. He hoped that by their patience and suffering they would change the hearts of police even. Gandhiji advised volunteers to carry on their work without minding such interference of police.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

192. MESSAGE TO KATHIAWAR

DANDI,
April 7, 1930

From what I hear it seems that the Government have conferred upon Kathiawar greater honour. While information from other centres states that leaders have been arrested, as regards Kathiawar, Mr. Manilal Kothari and Sheth Amritlal are arrested with their volunteers. Nothing could be more creditable and welcome for Kathiawar. Moreover, the recent death of Mr. Kothari's wife has added more to the valour. The tragic sentiment is there in the death of a dear one and when a warrior is deeply affected by such departure without succumbing to sorrow and plunges into the field without a moment's delay, his bravery shines even more. I hope Kathiawar will understand this sentiment and will nurture it. There is only one way to do so. If Kathiawar is pouring incessantly to join satyagraha and take up the work left by these men, success will be theirs.

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

[1] After the arrest of two volunteers at Aat Gandhiji, accompanied by Abbas Tyabji and Sarojini Naidu, visited the spot where satyagraha was offered. As Gandhiji was observing silence, he wrote a brief message on a piece of paper which was read out by the captain of the volunteers.

193. MESSAGE TO GUJARAT

DANDI
April 7, 1930

Gujarat has worked wonders. The hopes which Pandit Motilal Nehru had expressed at Jambusar seem to fructify. The first day of self-purification week has begun with auspicious omens. Good news is pouring in from all centres from Ranpur right up to Surat. Messrs Manilal Kothari and Amritlal Sheth have been arrested with the volunteers and the news just now reaches us that Durbar Gopaldas, Talati and Ravishanker, all leaders of Kaira District, have been arrested. They have enhanced the prestige of Gujarat and India as well. But what will the remaining workers in Gujarat do? I hope the volunteers will pour in large numbers from all quarters, without waiting for any call and fill up the gap immediately caused by the arrests. The time has now come when students, pleaders, Government servants and others will be put to test. Will those who remain outside keep on waiting and watching when seasoned soldiers are being arrested?

The Bombay Chronicle, 8-4-1930

194. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

DANDI,
Silence Day [On or after *April 7, 1930*][2]

CHI. KALAVATI[1],

I got your letter. I liked it. What are you doing? Are you at all studying? Are you happy?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5285

[1] Wife of Kashinath Trivedi, then Assistant Editor of *Hindi Navajivan*. She was at the time residing in the Sabarmati Ashram.

[2] Gandhiji reached Dandi on April 5, 1930.

195. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

DANDI,
Tuesday, April 8, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter and postscript. I hope Mother is not suffering from cancer. But the life is so artificial that one wonders that we do not suffer more than we do.

Yes, the things are hastening to an end. You were right in not going when you did not feel like it.[1] You will hear all about the exclusive field I have suggested for women.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5390. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9624

196. LETTER TO AMINA TYABJI

DANDI,
April 8, 1930

MY DEAR SISTER,

Abbas Saheb is going tonight to Nadiad as even Fulchand has been arrested. Now there is hope of his being arrested. He thinks that here I am blocking his way. He may be right.

Khuda Hafiz.

Love.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9687

[1] *Vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 203.

197. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS PODDAR

DANDI,
April 8, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDAS,

I got your letter. If you stop worrying and go on doing your best, God is bound to be pleased with whatever you can do. And do not give up Ramanama in any circumstances.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 219

198. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Tuesday, April 8, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Bhai Amritlal has been arrested. And on the Dholera side the authorities seem to be acting in a novel fashion. I think you should pay a visit to that part. From today I have started visiting the neighbouring villages. I don't intend this week to go outside the limits of this taluka or its neighbourhood. If, however, it becomes necessary I will be ready to go to Dholera or any place near it. I suppose you have heard about the arrests of Jamnalal, Ishvarlal, etc.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11474

199. SPEECH AT AAT

April 8, 1930

I am glad the Government has allowed me to remain free so that I can fulfil the promise I made to you yesterday. Yesterday when Ukabhai was beaten and all of you suddenly jumped down in order to collect salt, you all, including even the women, must have found it difficult to stand the sight. That incident will remain indelible in the history of India. Our first battle is going to be fought at Aat. Ours is a war of love in which we have to suffer too. We shall not allow the salt to be taken away even at the risk of losing our lives, just as a mother would not allow herself to be robbed of her child even if she had to die for it.[1] When this happens the whole of India will rise up. India cannot tolerate such insult even when it is perpetrated against men. God is the only ammunition that we possess. You have glorified the second day of your struggle and I hope that all the villages of Gujarat and the whole of the country will follow your example. Let the Government arrest all the national leaders it wants to. It will find that its belief that the struggle will be terminated for want of leaders is false. When you have collected the salt, do not waste a single grain of it. You should be determined to eat only that salt upon which no tax has been levied. If the Government levies an excise duty on paddy you would have no alternative but to eat paddy grown in your own fields; you have to follow a similar course with regard to salt also.

Do not let go of salt when the police tries to snatch it from your hands. So long as your wrists are intact, do not let your fists be loosened. Your fists will acquire the strength of iron if you have faith in satyagraha.

[From Gujarati]

Prajabandhu, 13-4-1930

[1] This sentence is from *The Bombay Chronicle*, 9-4-1930.

200. *MESSAGE TO THE NATION*[1]

DANDI,
April 9, 1930

At last the long expected hour seems to have come.

In the dead of night my colleagues and companions have roused me from deep slumber and requested me to give them a message. I am, therefore, dictating this message, although I have not the slightest inclination to give any.

Messages I have given enough already. Of what avail would this message be if none of the previous messages evoked a proper response? But information received until this midnight leads me to the belief that my message did not fall flat, but was taken up by the people in right earnest. The people of Gujarat seem to have risen in a body as it were. I have seen with my own eyes thousands of men and women at Aat and Bhimrad fearlessly breaking the Salt Act. Not a sign of mischief, not a sign of violence have I seen, despite the presence of people in such large numbers. They have remained perfectly peaceful and non-violent, although Government officers have transgressed all bounds.

Here in Gujarat well-tried and popular public servants have been arrested one after another, and yet the people have been perfectly non-violent. They have refused to give way to panic, and have celebrated the arrests by offering civil disobedience in ever increasing numbers. This is just as it should be.

If the struggle so auspiciously begun is continued in the same spirit of non-violence to the end, not only shall we see Purna Swaraj established in our country before long, but we shall have given to the world an object-lesson worthy of India and her glorious past.

Swaraj won without sacrifice cannot last long. I would, therefore, like our people to get ready to make the highest sacrifice that they are capable of. In true sacrifice all the suffering is

[1] This was published with a note which read: "The following is an English translation of a message dictated by Gandhiji at Dandi on April 9, when there was a strong rumour of his impending arrest. A month has gone by, but the message still holds good. We publish it today as a challenge to the honour and loyalty of India to meet the fiery ordeal that now lies before her."

on one side — one is required to master the art of getting killed without killing, of gaining life by losing it. May India live up to this *mantra*.

At present India's self-respect, in fact her all, is symbolized as it were in a handful of salt in the satyagrahi's hand. Let the fist holding it therefore be broken, but let there be no voluntary surrender of the salt.

Let the Government, if it claims to be a civilized Government, jail those who help themselves to contraband salt. After their arrest the civil resisters will gladly surrender the salt, as they will their bodies into the custody of their jailors.

But by main force to snatch the salt from the poor, harmless satyagrahis' hands is barbarism pure and simple and an insult to India. Such insult can be answered only by allowing our hand to be fractured without loosening the grasp. Even then the actual sufferer or his comrades may not harbour in their hearts anger against the wrongdoer. Incivility should be answered not by incivility but by a dignified and calm endurance of all suffering in the name of God.

Let not my companions or the people at large be perturbed over my arrest, for it is not I but God who is guiding this movement. He ever dwells in the hearts of all and he will vouchsafe to us the right guidance if only we have faith in Him. Our path has already been chalked out for us. Let every village fetch or manufacture contraband salt. Sisters should picket liquor shops, opium dens and foreign cloth dealers' shops. Young and old in every home should ply the *takli* and spin, and get woven, heaps of yarn every day. Foreign cloth should be burnt. Hindus should eschew untouchability. Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs, Parsis, and Christians should all achieve heart unity. Let the majority rest content with what remains after the minorities have been satisfied. Let students leave Government schools and colleges, and Government servants resign their service and devote themselves to service of the people, and we shall find that Purna Swaraj will come knocking at our door.

Young India, 8-5-1930

201. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

April 9, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I am halting in Surat for a few hours on my way to Bhimrad. The car took the wrong road, with the result that I missed the train and came here by car. At present my very thoughts have grown wings and they seem to have effect even when not expressed in speech or action. That is a fact. Thoughts which are part of *tapascharya* are single-pointed, and hence their power is greater than that of electricity or of still subtler ether. Your suggestion, therefore, was acted upon immediately yesterday. All the men in my batch will have to be dispersed and posted wherever they may be needed. Surajbhan has already left, and so has Jayantiprasad, each for his own district. Vamanrao Pataki also has gone to his district. I did not have to suggest to any of the three that he should go. They themselves felt that they should go. Surendra is waiting at Navsari to proceed to Bhimrad. Puratan and Haridas Gandhi are at Navsari waiting to leave for Olpad. I have sent Abbas Saheb to Nadiad, where I will send other men whom he may ask for, provided I am not arrested by then. However, if I am not free and you are, it will be for you to send them; and if even you are not free, those who are left behind will make the necessary arrangements. Fortunately, Dayalji at least will stay behind, and he will issue orders through the children. If none else, there will always be Lord Krishna whose orders are bound to be felt by all in their hearts and the work will go on somehow. I am certainly ready to send Chhaganlal to Wadhwan, but Kevalram can go there as well. I think you know that he has offered to do so. However that may be, you may, if you are free, communicate to me any other suggestions which may occur to you. I have sent word to the Broach Sevashram people that they may ask me if they need any men. As for you, I think you will not be a free man for long.

I also have written to Saraladevi, but that was only about the drink evil. Yesterday I sent a letter addressed to Kaka on this subject. I think you must have read it. You will have seen from it that I, at any rate, wish to start the movement against the drink evil and foreign cloth along with the salt agitation on the

13th. Even if that should not be possible, I should like the fight against the drink evil to start from Monday if you, Kaka and other men and the Ashram women and other women visitors feel the necessary self-confidence. I wrote to Saraladevi suggesting that she might throw herself into this very work. If, however, my plan itself does not appeal to all of you, you may leave it. I do not at all believe that the salt tax will go in seven days. But I think it very necessary to utilize this golden opportunity and combine these three aims of our movement. Personally, I am convinced that if we should succeed in these three things, swaraj would soon be an accomplished fact, the women would realize their power in no time and, without any effort on our part, the whole world would see for itself how ours was indeed a holy war. Many women can contribute their share in this movement even while attending to their domestic duties. We have the land revenue tax as a last resort. That is why, though I have discussed the subject in my article "The Immoral Foundation"[1], I do not wish to touch the tax just now. Nor is it necessary to do so. At present, my eyes are fixed on the 91 crore rupees and considering the prevailing atmosphere in the country I think we shall easily succeed in our aim.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have talked at length on these matters with Mithubehn. She has made up her mind. The Anavil Ashram will be handed over to her for the use of women workers. Those women who are willing to give all their time to the work will be admitted to it. Of course there will be other conditions for admission. The present idea is to make an intensive effort in the Surat district where some work of this kind has been done, and to extend the area of activity as the women's self-confidence increases. Such of the Ashram women as are ready for this, like Mithubehn, should start coming here. Mithubehn herself has already had experience of this work and, therefore, the women who come here will have the benefit of that experience. As the women coming from the Ashram are trained in discipline, Mithubehn will find it easier to take work from them. I have already discussed the matter with Shardabehn. She and Dr. Sumant liked the idea very much. Shardabehn said that she would certainly go there.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16785

[1] *Vide* pp. 223-5.

202. SPEECH AT BHIMRAD

April 9, 1930

BROTHERS AND SISTERS,

This is the camp of civil resisters. Some of you have been arrested but instead of being sorry for it I find you all more cheerful. We prepared for a thing and asked for it. After receiving it we must not be afraid of it, otherwise we would be considered ungrateful to the Almighty God. We pray to God for imprisonment, hanging or independence. We do not want slavery and dependence. God has said that without sacrifice you will get nothing. We must qualify ourselves to go to jail. It will be useless to go to jail for thefts or for being drunk. We only congratulate those who go to jail for pure actions. From our point of view those who go to jail for good deeds do not deserve imprisonment but freedom. In a Satanic Government innocent persons must suffer. Under this rule, if we are good, we will get handcuffs, kicks, daggers and gallows. Women will have to make greater sacrifices. I have brought material for sacrifice. We consider it a picnic and I hope it will continue as such till the end. This is just a beginning. Sardar Vallabhbhai ought to have been sent to jail for 30 years. The Government is trying us. At Bhimrad you will not be killed. Salt will be snatched away from you but if you have courage you should not part with salt in your possession until you are unable to withstand the force used for snatching it away from you. I understand that by keeping salt in our possession we [shall] have kept with us 6 crores of rupees and in it lies the independence of India. We want boys who are 16 years old for the present struggle. If a fist containing salt be clenched, none dare to open it. They may open fire upon you. Men may come with bayonets and sticks and use them on you, but salt should not be taken out of your hands. If none of you then cry over it, I would consider it a picnic. Bodies may be lying dead, hands may have been cut off but still you keep to your promise. I will then understand that swaraj is approaching. The Government is testing us because this Government is of bold persons. Do not consider that we are fighting against impotent persons. They would not suffer defeat quietly and we cannot defeat them soon. If 30 crores unite in the struggle, the Govern-

ment would yield to it. If you remain true, I am sure I shall see the light of success. I have come here to request you to stick to the present struggle until we have won. You are all doing good work. Do not doubt about the salt tax. When Ukabhai received an injury I considered it a sign that the salt tax would go. Do not consider that you will be happy after the repeal of the salt tax. Rs. 6 crores are nothing for a nation of 30 crores. I asked Tyabji and he left willingly (for Kaira district). Picketing of liquor shops should be done by women and not by men. If men go there, it will be presumed that they were there to assault others. Government would not like it because they would lose Rs. 25 crores income from the sale of liquor. I therefore advise all of you sisters to act according to the instructions of Mithubehn. Foreign cloth is as bad as liquor. Those who have put on foreign clothes should burn them. If you use khaddar 60 crores of rupees will remain in India. You should spin cotton. You sisters should do three things, viz., assist the temperance movement, use khaddar and do spinning. I have sent my son Manilal for the work, and he will do it. Do not fight in the jail for food but for your self-respect. *Patels* who have resigned have not yet been relieved by the Government. There is some trick in it. They should hand over the records to the Government or lock the office and hand over the key to the Mamlatdar.

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 1930

203. TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA

The impatience of some sisters to join the good fight is to me a healthy sign. It has led to the discovery that however attractive the campaign against the salt tax may be, for them to confine themselves to it would be to change a pound for a penny. They will be lost in the crowd, there will be in it no suffering for which they are thirsting.

In this non-violent warfare, their contribution should be much greater than men's. To call woman the weaker sex is a libel; it is man's injustice to woman. If by strength is meant brute strength, then indeed is woman less brute than man. If by strength is meant moral power, then woman is immeasurably man's superior. Has she not greater intuition, is she not more self-sacrificing, has she not greater powers of endurance, has she not greater courage? Without her man could not be. If non-

violence is the law of our being, the future is with woman.

I have nursed this thought now for years. When the women of the Ashram insisted on being taken along with men something within me told me that they were destined to do greater work in this struggle than merely breaking salt laws.

I feel that I have now found that work. The picketing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops by men, though it succeeded beyond expectations up to a point for a time in 1921, failed because violence crept in. If a real impression is to be created, picketing must be resumed. If it remains peaceful to the end, it will be the quickest way of educating the people concerned. It must never be a matter of coercion but conversion, moral suasion. Who can make a more effective appeal to the heart than woman?

Prohibition of intoxicating liquors and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth have ultimately to be by law. But the law will not come till pressure from below is felt in no uncertain manner.

That both are vitally necessary for the nation, nobody will dispute. Drink and drugs sap the moral well-being of those who are given to the habit. Foreign cloth undermines the economic foundations of the nation and throws millions out of employment. The distress in each case is felt in the home and therefore by the women. Only those women who have drunkards as their husbands know what havoc the drink devil works in homes that once were orderly and peace-giving. Millions of women in our hamlets know what unemployment means. Today the Charkha Sangh covers over one hundred thousand women against less than 10,000 men.

Let the women of India take up these two activities, specialize in them; they would contribute more than man to national freedom. They would have an access of power and self-confidence to which they have hitherto been strangers.

Their appeal to the merchants and buyers of foreign cloth and to the liquor dealers and addicts to the habit cannot but melt their hearts. At any rate the women can never be suspected of doing or intending violence to these four classes. Nor can Government long remain supine to an agitation so peaceful and so resistless.

The charm will lie in the agitation being initiated and controlled exclusively by women. They may take and should get as much assistance as they need from men, but the men should be in strict subordination to them.

In this agitation thousands of women, literate and illiterate, can take part.

Highly educated women have in this appeal of mine an opportunity of actively identifying themselves with the masses and helping them both morally and materially.

They will find when they study the subject of foreign-cloth boycott that it is impossible save through khadi. Mill-owners will themselves admit that mills cannot manufacture in the near future enough cloth for Indian requirements. Given a proper atmosphere, khadi can be manufactured in our villages, in our countless homes. Let it be the privilege of the women of India to produce this atmosphere by devoting every available minute to the spinning of yarn. The question of production of khadi is surely a question of spinning enough yarn. During the past ten days of the march under pressure of circumstances I have discovered the potency of the *takli* which I had not realized before. It is truly a wonder worker. In mere playfulness my companions have without interrupting any other activity spun enough yarn to weave 4 square yards per day of khadi of 12 counts. Khadi as a war measure is not to be beaten. The moral results of the two reforms are obviously great. The political result will be no less great. Prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs means the loss of twenty-five crores of revenue. Boycott of foreign cloth means the saving by India's millions of at least sixty crores. Both these achievements would monetarily be superior to the repeal of the salt tax. It is impossible to evaluate the moral results of the two reforms.

'But there is no excitement and no adventure in the liquor and foreign-cloth picketing', some sisters may retort. Well, if they will put their whole heart into this agitation they will find more than enough excitement and adventure. Before they have done with the agitation, they might even find themselves in prison. It is not improbable that they may be insulted and even injured bodily. To suffer such insult and injury would be their pride. Such suffering if it comes to them will hasten the end.

If the women of India will listen and respond to my appeal, they must act quickly. If the all-India work cannot be undertaken at once, let those provinces which can organize themselves do so. Their example will be quickly followed by the other provinces.

Young India, 10-4-1930

204. *NOTES*

CONGRATULATIONS

Pandit Malaviyaji and the other members of the Assembly who have resigned deserve the heartiest congratulations of the nation for their patriotic resignations. How any self-respecting person can cling to an institution where he cannot preserve his self-respect it would be difficult to understand if we did not know our capacity for self-deception. The Government, instead of telling us, show by their many unmistakable acts that they will do anything but sacrifice the material interest of their principals the British manufacturers and the like who live on India's exploitation. The legislatures, central and provincial, are like their other institutions, powerful and tempting devices for draining India of whatever she has still left. They would, if they could, leave her only when she has no more left to be plundered.

Pandit Malaviyaji and the others have left the Assembly none too soon. With a faith worthy of a better cause he stuck to the so-called legislatures for a quarter of a century in the teeth often of popular opposition. He rendered at critical moments valuable services to the Government. No Indian living has the unbroken record Pandit Malaviyaji has of service rendered with a single-mindedness not often to be found in men. The Government have therefore lost an ally whom they will never be able to replace. I hope that Panditji and his companions will now devote their energy to the popular work that awaits them. They will soon discover as many have done that the real work can only be done outside the legislatures. They will be good only when they are so fashioned as to register real public opinion, not that of certain groups or classes. They are positively harmful when they are so manipulated as merely to give effect to the official will. For the time being, therefore, servants of the nation have to forge sanctions and create a public opinion that will not be flouted.

A VICIOUS INSINUATION

An M. B. writes as follows:[1]

> . . . The *Lancet*, a leading medical journal of London, in its edition dated 8th March 1930 (page 531) has made the following observations:

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

"Whatever political agitators may say and in spite of the growth of medical education in India, that country will need British doctors for a long time to come. Even Mr. Gandhi (who was himself operated by a British surgeon in the I. M. S.) would probably admit the truth of this statement."

So far as I know you were operated by the Civil Surgeon of Poona while you were a prisoner in jail. But the insinuation seems to be that you preferred to be operated by a British I. M. S. officer, because he was more capable.

The insinuation made by the writer in the *Lancet* is baseless and vicious. At the time the operation was performed I was certainly a prisoner, but I was given the choice of having my own surgeon to perform the operation. I did not distrust Col. Maddock, the British surgeon referred to, and the late Dr. Dalal and Dr. Jivraj Mehta (my surgeon and physician respectively) not having arrived in time, the operation was performed by Col. Maddock, whose care and attention I have acknowledged more than once. I have never felt the dearth of Indian surgeons or physicians of the highest calibre. Indeed, I have sent several of my European friends to Indian surgeons and physicians and they have derived full benefit from the skill of these Indian medical men. It is in military science alone, thanks to the British policy, that India perhaps stands in need of assistance from European instructors. But, so far as I am aware, in every other department, if the British withdrew India could be self-contained without the slightest difficulty and that in spite of open or veiled obstruction from the ruling caste.

Young India, 10-4-1930

205. THE IMMORAL FOUNDATION

This Indian Empire was conceived in immorality, for it was to perpetuate the exploitation of India's resources that it was founded. The pages of history written by Englishmen amply prove the assertion that no fraud was considered too much, no force too frightful by Englishmen, to gain the end. There is perhaps not an inch of ground lawfully acquired by or for the British crown in India.

The rule is nurtured by immoral means. English statesmen assure us that it is the British bayonet that keeps the Empire free from attack both from without and within.

It is supported by revenues derived from immoral sources. I have sufficiently demonstrated the hideous immorality, because inhumanity, of the salt tax. The immorality of the drink and drug revenue is self-demonstrated.

The immorality of the land revenue is not self-demonstrated. But those who have followed the Bardoli agitation, who have studied the so-called revenue laws and their administration, cannot fail to perceive the immorality of the system. I call the revenue laws so-called because they give arbitrary powers to revenue officers whose decisions are not subject to judicial control. This land revenue, like the salt tax, presses most heavily upon the poor ryot whether under the *ryotwari* system or the permanent system. How it oppresses the peasant under the *ryotwari* system we saw in Bardoli and recently in Matar and Mehemedabad. The permanent settlement crushes the ryot more than those affected by the *ryotwari* system. That the ryot himself is partly to blame for his woes I have no hesitation in admitting. But that fact is irrelevant to the present consideration. There is no inherent or independent right belonging to the State to tax the land, whether it be considered to be the State property or the individual's. The State has no more right to exact its toll from land under any circumstance than the owner of an ox has a right to exact work from it irrespective of its capacity. That there is a kind of classification of land and some regulations about remissions, etc., is no answer to the charge here made. The claim here made is that in the vast majority of cases the ryot is wholly unable to pay any tax. In shaping its taxation policy a wise State will always take note of the citizen's habits, customs and even his weaknesses. This Government had no time for such consideration. It had its fixed minimum to exact anyhow; and so in the words of the late Lord Salisbury the lancet had to be applied where there was yet any blood to be drawn.

So much about some of the visible sources of revenue. The invisible sources are equally tainted if not much more so. The unconscionable forced inflation of the rupee has by a stroke of the pen drained India of millions. The favoured treatment of British cloth in a variety of unseen ways drains India of sixty crores of rupees annually, leaving behind partial unemployment of the starving millions.

Thus the Government trades upon our vices and exacts payment by questionable methods principally from those who are least able to make it.

There is therefore no way open to the people save to end a system whose very foundations are immoral. Let us therefore

pray and work for the destruction of this demonstrably immoral system and for ending it take the boldest risks consistently with the national creed or policy (as the case may be) of non-violence.

Young India, 10-4-1930

206. AN ENGLISH FRIEND'S DIFFICULTY

An English friend writes:[1]

> To us India is a composite country sharply divided by the caste system, by religious differences, and by semi-independent and loyal kingdoms, which could by no means be left to act together without the most careful safeguards against civil strife or religious persecution, and which, if left alone, would soon be a chaos of conflicting forces. But we are anxious to do the right thing as the Government responsible for the welfare of the land.
>
> A mere political reform is quite useless unless it improves the lot of the people and removes any injustice from which they suffer and it appears to us that the British could do these things far better than a mixed Indian Government.
>
> The question is: *What is the injustice from which they suffer?*
>
> Are they too heavily taxed? Are the courts of justice unfair?
>
> Do the British rulers act with tyranny?
>
> Are there any monopolies which are unjust?
>
> Are the wages of the workers *less* than they would be under a native government? Or hours longer? Could such a Government prevent the famines which afflict the country? Or, when they came, relieve them so effectually? . . .

This letter is typical of the average good but ill-informed Englishman.

Take the 4th[2] paragraph. It betrays the false teaching with which Englishmen are fed from their school-going age. It does not occur to the writer that India left to herself will deal with the difficulties pointed out. He does not see that if a century of British rule has not dealt with the difficulties but has, if anything, rather accentuated them, with the progress of time they are not going to be solved or diminished during British occupation. The writer does not know that according to the testimony of English historians the innumerable villages have remained unaffected by the

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

[2] The first three paragraphs having been omitted, this refers to the first paragraph of the letter as given here.

difficulties mentioned by him and many more I can name. It should be remembered that India's is a predominantly rural civilization. Before the devastating British occupation the seven hundred thousand villages of India were so many self-contained republics. It was left for the marvellous organizing British ability, used not for "the welfare of the land" as the writer imagines, but misused for its systematic exploitation, to disturb the placid and comparatively happy life of the villager. Rulers have before now come and gone leaving these villages untouched and without leaving chaos behind. Why should the disappearance of British rule result in chaos? If the British people play the game, they will be expected to undo the great wrong they have done to India by rendering to free and independent India such assistance as her free Government may need. If they will not play the game what need is there for any Englishman to worry whether there is chaos or concord after the end of British rule? Ruthless exploitation of India is too great a price to pay for securing the so-called orderly Government.

I have no difficulty in agreeing with the writer that "a mere political reform is quite useless unless it improves the lot of the people and removes any injustice from which they suffer." But it is a fatal mistake to suppose that "the British could do these things better than a mixed Indian Government."

English friends like the writer will better understand the nationalist position by the following answers to the very relevant questions he puts:

1. The people are too heavily taxed as has been maintained elsewhere in this very issue and as can be amply proved from authoritative sources.

2. The courts have been proved to be unfair in political cases and in cases as between Indians and Europeans.

3. British rulers have been known repeatedly to rule with tyranny and almost invariably to act arrogantly and in total disregard of Indian opinion.

4. There are numerous unjust monopolies of which the salt monopoly is a glaring example.

5. If by workers only city labour is meant, it is but a drop in the ocean of Indian humanity. They do not number more than two million in all India, i.e., 150th of the whole population. Moreover these are a British institution. How they will fare under an indigenous Government it is difficult to foresee except that they will be better able to wrest justice from it than from an all-powerful alien Government that can afford to be indifferent. In so far as the vast mass of the workers in the Indian villages are concerned,

I maintain, and it has been proved in these pages, that they are worse off now than they ever were.

6. Whenever there is famine in the land it is a famine of money, i.e., incapacity of the people to buy the grain and the cloth they need. Under indigenous Government, therefore, when the spinning-wheel is restored, no one need starve for want of money as they do today because they are unemployed for at least four months in the year.

7. The chief wrongs have been enumerated in my letter[1] to the Viceroy published in these pages.

8. What India wants is independence pure and simple. This need not exclude British help if Great Britain will lend it on India's terms.

I do not ask the friend to accept the categorical statements made by me. I should be satisfied if my reply stimulates an impartial study of the charges made by me. There is ample literature on the subject. The volumes of *Young India* will provide instructive reading. Let the English friends who will know the truth not summarily reject all Indian evidence. Surely we must know better what we feel and want.

Young India, 10-4-1930

207. SOME CONDITIONS

Securing complete independence is difficult as well as easy. It is difficult if we wish to do nothing. It is easy if the masses understand their duty. We cannot say this about everything. Take for instance the mastery of the Vedas. It is not easy work for everyone. It requires years and years of study. But for swaraj all that is needed is change of heart. For swaraj is our birth-right.

What are the conditions, one may ask for gaining swaraj that everyone can fulfil? Here they are:

1. Everyone can offer civil disobedience of the salt law. For this no training is needed. Men, women, boys and girls of no less than eight villages were able to do this. They had not received any previous training.

2. Everyone can spin on the *takli*. Everyone of course cannot get a spinning-wheel, for it is a little costly. But *taklis* can be made in every home even from bamboo. The general public can also buy *taklis* for a few pice each. If millions of people take to card-

[1] *Vide* pp. 2-8.

ing and plying the *takli* we can produce as much khadi as we may need. This work also does not require any elaborate training. Besides, it is work for leisure hours. If people can grasp this, if they undergo a change of heart, millions of men and women, young and old, can take up this work and save sixty crores of rupees every year. Let us boycott all foreign cloth and wear khadi alone. It is the only fit attire for us. If we cannot afford more, we may do with the very minimum of clothing—even a bare *langoti*.

Since this is a struggle for self-purification we must, this very day, give up liquor, opium, tobacco, etc., if we have these vices. There are various other things also which we can do if we want to. I have merely cited an example or two.

For the attainment of swaraj it is also essential that Hindus, Muslims and followers of other religions treat one another as brothers. We should banish the sin of untouchability and love our depressed brothers and sisters. All these, to be sure, are not conditions for securing swaraj. They are part of the definition of swaraj. Today when there is such wonderful awakening in the country every reader must make his contribution to this *yajna*.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 10-4-1930

208. LETTER TO G. D. BIRLA

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

BHAI GHANSHYAMDAS,

Your letters of resignation[1] have filled me with joy. I am writing this at 2 a.m. as some friends have brought the news that I shall be arrested today.

Jamnalalji is ensconced in jail.[2] I am confident that you will do all you can in connection with salt satyagraha, prohibition and the boycott of foreign cloth.

We shall have good support if Malaviyaji remains firm about this.

The awakening in Gujarat, at least for the present, is beyond words. God alone knows the future.

I am observing the profound effect of these arrests. The present is shaping as we had anticipated.

[1] From the Legislative Council

[2] Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested at Juhu, Bombay, and sentenced to two years' rigorous imprisonment.

What more shall I write?

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6183. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

209. MESSAGE TO BOMBAY CITIZENS[1]

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

I don't know whether to trust the citizens of Bombay when Jamnalal Bajaj and Nariman have been jailed and still the citizens of Bombay have not shown sufficient spirit. Bombay should break the salt laws and more particularly they should boycott foreign cloth and thereby break the chain of foreign domination and the leaders of Bombay should work to free the labouring classes from the drink evil.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

210. MESSAGE TO B.P.C.C., BOMBAY

April 10, 1930

I congratulate the Bombay Congress Committee and the people of Bombay on the recent arrest of Abidali and Meherali. It is the duty of every citizen of Bombay to fill the places of those who have been arrested. The arrest of the leaders should not make us falter. The unprecedented enthusiasm which was witnessed during the national week shows that, following the arrest of the leaders, people's enthusiasm in the whole of India has increased. I hope the recent arrests in Bombay will create similar enthusiasm. We should make salt and use only that salt. We should boycott foreign cloth and eradicate the evil of drinking. I have entrusted the two latter activities to the women of India. If we wish to succeed in the boycott of foreign cloth and exercise control over mills which are purely Indian it is women who can do it. We should carry on propaganda for khadi and this will not be possible until every one of us takes up the *takli*.

[From Gujarati]
Gujarati, 13-4-1930

[1] Given to a deputation of brokers from Bombay

211. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 10, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Your letter. Glad mother out of danger. It *may* be possible for you to do something in the drink campaign if it ever comes into being. If it comes, it will come naturally. No time for more.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5391. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9625

212. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

MY DEAR BHRRR,

Your sweet letter. So being on your mettle, you have evolved a splendid programme. May you never grow old.

Dadubhai's conduct is a painful surprise. However, Kheda has worked wonders. Fancy Darbar and others being handcuffed, shaved! It is good news one way, it is bad another way. Good because it must nerve the people for greater effort, bad because it hurts one to see human nature so debased. But that's the system. Let us end it or end ourselves in the attempt.

I have a good letter from Mrs. Abbas.

Yours ever,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9570

213. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 10, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

We cannot smuggle salt even for committing disobedience of the salt law. How can we employ as a means of satyagraha what is in itself wrong?

The contributions from the Surat district were quite big, but they seem to have been passed on to the Provincial Committee.

Talk to Mahadev about this. I am writing to him.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11476

214. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. Kalyanji brought news that I was certain to be arrested today, so I have kept awake the whole night. I go to sleep for a while, then get up, write and again go to sleep. That is how it goes.

It appears Devdas has been arrested. That you have still not been arrested is surprising. I see many risks in picketing colleges and courts. I have explained the whole matter to Kaka. Those students who wish to boycott the Matriculation examination may do so on their own, but my advice is that we should not post pickets around the examination pandal. Liquor booths and foreign-cloth shops are a different matter.

I have been thinking how to arrange the dispersal of the batch. Before the 13th, I intend to send away only those who may be needed elsewhere.

I don't think I have anything more to write today.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The money coming from other places which was received in the Surat District has also gone to the Provincial Committee. Even now, as I see things, the best thing would be for all the money to remain with Narandas for the present. However, you may do as you think proper. I have explained to Kaka this matter also.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11475

215. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

April 10, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

What do you think about my idea concerning the anti-drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth?

I did get your letters. You should continue to write to me. Dhurandhar[1] seems to be a fine man. I liked Kamaladevi, too, very much. She says that she will stay in the Ashram if the climate agrees with her daughter. You should try and see that she stays on.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6668. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

216. LETTER TO LILAVATI

April 10, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. Your name cannot be chosen for drill, but you will certainly be in the struggle when the time comes. They will accept you. Those who have faith always get opportunities for service. Do not feel anxious. Ask Gangabehn what to take for your constipation and your menstrual trouble.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9316

[1] Assistant Editor, *Navakal*, a Marathi daily from Bombay. He had joined the Dandi March as a satyagrahi.

217. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I have already replied to your letter. You two must have discussed the matter by now. It is being rumoured that I shall be arrested today, and so I don't write more. May God bless you both and give you sufficient firmness of mind.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3364

218. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your two letters. I have no time to write a long letter. I am happy to know that you are happy. I suppose you do get *Navajivan*, etc., there. Ramdas has been jailed. Devdas has been arrested. Jamnalalji and Kishorelal have also been sentenced to imprisonment. Indeed hundreds have been jailed. There is no limit to people's enthusiasm.

I am sure that you will mix with the people there as naturally as sugar mixes with milk.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9048

219. LETTER TO JAISUKHLAL GANDHI

DANDI,
April 10, 1930

CHI. JAISUKHLAL,

I was awaiting a letter from you. I don't think that the diet which has benefited you will benefit others. You should remain where you are and go on organizing the production of khadi. That also is an important task. When I think it necessary to throw you as an offering in the salt *yajna*, I will not hesitate a moment before doing so. Every day we hear rumours of my arrest being imminent, but the day passes and I am not arrested. It will make no difference whether or not they arrest me. Shivabhai does bring out here a news-sheet named *Satyagraha Samachar*. So far as I know, only one copy is prepared and circulated. A summary of its contents always appears in *Navajivan*. I have had no letter from Umiya after she went to Ajmer. Now that she has got used to the place, probably she does not think it necessary to write to me. Rukhi seems to be happy, too.

Blessings from
BAPU

BHAISHRI JAISUKHLAL GANDHI
KHADI KARYALAYA
CHALALA
KATHIAWAR

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U. III/73

220. LETTER TO BENARSILAL BAZAJ

April 10, 1930

CHI. BENARSI,

I have your two letters. I am immensely glad that you two are happy. May God grant you both long life and the spirit of service.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Hindi: C.W. 9302. Courtesy: Benarsilal Bazaj

221. SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS

JALALPUR,
April 10, 1930

Addressing his volunteers this morning, Mahatma Gandhi said that their mettle would soon be put to the test. There should, however, be no impatient hurry to court arrest. They should refuse to be stampeded into hasty action by provocation from police. Should authorities at any place "go mad and terrorize people" they should proceed there and set an example of calm courage and undaunted suffering.

Mahatma Gandhi exhorted them to prefer death to national humiliation of the type perpetrated by General Dyer.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

222. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

April 10, 1930

My attention has been drawn to the report in *The Times of India* of my Aat speech. It is a mischievous distortion of what I said. On seeing a man's wrist bleeding from a slight injury done to it, whilst the police, four or five against one, were snatching the salt in his possession, I said that the salt picked up by civil resisters was a token of India's honour, and the civil resisters were expected to defend India's honour with their lives. People, I said, should hold on to the salt in their possession as long as it was possible for them to bear the force that might be used against them, and that they should not mind even if blood was drawn while the police were delivering their assault upon their defenceless victims. I added that, in resisting this dispossession, people should not bear any malice nor should they be angry nor utter a word of abuse. In order to avoid needless injury, I advised the people to take only a handful of salt which could be contained in their closed fists and invited even women and children, if they had the courage to take part in the battle, and challenged the police to lay their hands upon women and children. If the police laid their hands upon women and children, I said that the whole of India would become inflamed, and resent the insult by inviting suffering of the same

kind as they. The manner in which I expected Indians to respond to such an insult was by taking up other methods of civil resistance, and by students boycotting schools and Government servants giving up service by way of protest. There is no departure from my creed of non-violence, and I regard this snatching of salt from the civil resisters as a piece of barbarity. The greater the barbarity of the Government, the greater will be my call for self-suffering.

The Hindu, 11-4-1930

223. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

JALALPUR,
April 10, 1930

I asked Mahatmaji to define the scope of "defensive non-violent resistance". A volunteer, Mahatmaji had advised, should not yield his salt to the police until it was wrested from him by superior force. "Is it permissible for the volunteer," I asked, "to struggle with the police in clinging to it desperately, moving this way and that in his attempts not to yield, and possibly causing hurt to his opponent?" Mahatmaji said:

It is his duty to cling to the salt as though it was his life, provided he was not offering violence to his opponent. Just as a mother would save her child against the attempts of others to deprive her of it, so should a satyagrahi cling to his salt.

Gandhiji, continuing stated that in no civilized country was it considered proper for the police to take the law into their own hands. When a volunteer refused to hand over his salt he would have committed an offence, but on that account, the police should not inflict corporal punishment on him. The police officers had got the right of arresting a volunteer and marching him to the police station and of putting him up for trial.

Asked how a police officer could discharge the duty imposed on him of seizing the salt, Gandhiji said that his quarrel was exactly with that sort of law.

The conversation then turned on Mahatmaji's statement that if women were touched by the police, the whole country would be inflamed unless people were *napunsakas*. That passage, I pointed out, had been criticized as a threat against the legitimate arrest of women.

Mahatmaji laughed and said he had deliberately made the statement that the country would, in such a contingency, become inflamed, but not necessarily into committing acts of violence. He continued:

When Sri S. Subramania Aiyer threw away his titles because Dr. Besant had been arrested he had been inflamed, but his feel-

ings involved no violence. It is that kind of inflammation that I had referred to.

Referring to a report circulated by a news agency that his volunteers were revolting against the diet prescribed for them, Mahatmaji pooh-poohed the idea, adding:

There was some difficulty in the choice of diet, but once I decided on it, all accepted it without a murmur.

The Hindu, 11-4-1930

224. *SPEECH AT PUBLIC MEETING, ABRAMA*[1]

April 10, 1930

I was told that last night I was going to be arrested and hence at about 11 o'clock I finished some of my correspondence and did some writing. The night went by but the expected did not happen. I have read in the papers today that the price of salt has fallen by half but my contention is why should there be any price for it?

Gandhiji then stressed the necessity of complete prohibition and promotion of khaddar.

Proceeding, he referred to the reports of his speeches appearing in a distorted form in various papers and especially in the *Times* and remarked that these Press reporters were doing a definite disservice to the country. He had to contradict a report appearing in *The Times of India*. That report was a sheer distortion of his views. It would be wrong to say that all reporters were so but he had to admit that many were or else they did not understand his village dialect. I did not ask for the reporters but if the papers wanted to send them they should select such as knew his language. Ignorant reporters did harm both to him and the cause. Non-violence was not a new creed with him: he had laid stress on it for at least fifteen years. Nobody should imagine that with the advance of years he had lost his sense to such an extent that he should wish to go to jail by paying the price in blood. Even for going to jail he would not wish harm to anybody. What he had said was that they should not give up salt in their fists even if that might involve serious injury. That was not at all contrary to non-violence. He had received a wire from Delhi that four volunteers were so much battered there that at last they fainted. Government had started the game in which only a beginning was made. That should not come in the way of their duty. It was a shame that Government were

[1] About 5,000 villagers attended the meeting.

arresting even ladies. He wanted to show to the world that theirs was a fight in which everyone could take part.

The Bombay Chronicle, 11-4-1930

225. TELEGRAM TO N. C. KELKAR[1]

April 11, 1930

YOUR WIRE. DELIGHTED BEYOND MEASURE YOUR RESIGNATION DECISION ORGANIZE SATYAGRAHA. REPORT ABOUT HEALTH GROSS EXAGGERATION. TOOK MORNING MASS MEETING SEVEN MILES AWAY TODAY.

GANDHI

The Hindu, 16-4-1930

226. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I have your letter.

I would like you, Mother and others to attend here on Sunday. I am holding a conference of Gujarat women for the purpose of discussing the propriety and possibility of their tackling the problem of drink and foreign cloth.

Here are the messages you want.

Kamladevi has written a good letter in reply to mine[2]. Here it is. You may destroy it.

There is every hope of Mother capitulating since she is capable of blushing. It is a good sign.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9616

[1] This was sent in reply to the following telegram from the addressee: "After returning from the Assembly work at Delhi I immediately held conference of Maharashtra National Party and have decided to start and organize Salt Civil Disobedience in Maharashtra. Papers report your ill-health. Kindly relieve anxiety by wire."

[2] This is not traceable.

227. *LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI*

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

There was no harm in your having replied to the question about the prize of Rs. 250. But why should we reply, even if we have received the sum? If we are prosecuted for not replying, that would make our path clear.

I should be happy if Saralabehn, Nandubehn and others attend the conference. Ask Ranchhodbhai to send Motibehn and tell him that, if he wishes, he also may accompany her.

Today they have been stopping the cars coming from Navsari. They stop all cars coming from the Gaikawad limits.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11477

228. *LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI*

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I intend to hold a small conference of women in Dandi on the 13th. Send those from among the women there who wish to come and who can be spared to attend it. Meet the expenditure from the Satyagraha Fund. Those who have money with them should come at their own expense. If Khurshidbehn volunteers to come, offer her the fare. Probably she will refuse to accept it. Try if you can press her courteously to accept it. In the conference we are going to think only about propaganda against the drink evil and boycott of foreign cloth. These activities do not seem to have appealed to Khurshidbehn, that is, she does not wish to take them up as specially women's work. Hence she may not wish to come.

How is Purushottam? How is Kanu? How does he spend his time?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8098. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

229. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

DURING DANDI MARCH,
[*April 11, 1930*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

I cannot choose the names. Only those women who wish to take up these two activities and whom you can spare need come. You alone can think and decide in this matter. Prompted by love, everyone may wish to come. That is a different matter. We have no choice but to exercise self-control in this matter.

Brijkrishna and Krishnadas have come here.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8099. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

230. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Friday, April 11, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I got your letter. It does not matter that you did not show my letter to Narandas. You may, however, do so now as my reply is in any case the proper one. If people do not hide a thing there is no smuggling. There is "smuggling" only when there is an intention to hide. What you are doing, therefore, is all right. The person carrying salt also should declare (at the end) from where he brought it. Is it not permissible for a person to get salt by post?

[1] From the abrupt introduction of the subject-matter it appears this was written as an afterthought to the preceding item. Besides, this was to reach those wishing to attend the conference on April 13; it could not therefore have been written later than April 11.

I understand what you say about lawyers. No purpose will be served by Broker alone giving up practice. I am afraid that lawyers will not give up practice just now. If schoolboys, however, leave their schools, that will be enough. Congratulations to Mridu.

I am no longer enamoured of Dadubhai. Abbas Saheb writes to inform me that Dadubhai asked him to go to Baroda but refused to return. Dadubhai refused even to accompany him. What can a man do after all? Who can successfully fight against his nature? Let us therefore be content with what we get.

Delhi has done very well indeed. Every place presents a different spectacle. It appears that Atul Sen in Bengal has suffered a fracture.

In Delhi at any rate the picketing of foreign-cloth shops by women has started.

The women's conference at Dandi has now been fixed for Sunday. Read my letter to Narandas on the subject.

See that no mistake occurs in passing on the accompanying letters to the persons concerned.

Take rest from time to time as you work. Entrust to others what they can do.

I have just returned from Matwad.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11478

231. LETTER TO SHIVANAND

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

BHAISHRI SHIVANAND,

I had heard the news about Fulchand and others even before I got your letter. I hope Shardabehn is all right. We should never feel unhappy when we get what we had asked for. If you require any volunteer on that side, tell Mahadev about it and he will then write to me. If he is arrested before that, write directly to me.

Will Shardabehn be ready to join the new activity?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 2841. Courtesy: Fulchand Shah; also G.N. 9203

232. LETTER TO CHIMANLAL

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. CHIMANLAL,

I had your letter. I was glad to know that your health was all right. What was the cause of the improvement—the air and water of Vijapur or reduced burden of worries or were both these the causes? If the air and water of the place were the cause, you should occasionally go to Vijapur and stay there for some time and improve your health. If you do that, by and by the body will get stronger. You ought not to feel unhappy that you are not among the volunteers with me. We shall have done our duty if we do with single-minded devotion the tasks which may fall to our lot.

For megrim light food and a mud-pack every night as also when the attack comes has proved a successful cure in all cases in which it has been tried. I hope Babu does not get attacks of asthma now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.G. 6

233. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

I have your letter. You must not thus break away from your family. At present you should simply appeal to them. It will be of no use at all if you go there[1] just now. The time for the total boycott of foreign cloth is coming by itself and the people will then of their own accord renounce foreign cloth. You have given no news of your health this time. Come over if there is no work in Vijapur. The climate here is very bracing. As the house faces the sea we have cool breeze day and night. Dandi

[1] To Delhi

is situated 10 miles from the Navsari station. You will have no difficulty in staying on even if I am arrested and the camp is shifted.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2379

234. *LETTER TO SITLA SAHAI*

DANDI,
April 11, 1930

BHAI SITLA SAHAI,

I am late in replying to your letter. Kalakankar's brother should be instructed to prepare salt even at the risk of imprisonment.[1] The work is proceeding very well at all places. There is no time to write more.

Blessings from
BAPU

SJT. SITLA SAHAI
C/o SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE
RAE BARELI, U.P.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 8684

235. *STATEMENT TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA*

JALALPUR,
April 11, 1930

Embarrassing invitations are being received by me to go to several parts of India on the strength of the unauthorized report in the Press that I would be free to go wherever I wanted. But such is not my intention. So far as possible, I propose to concentrate all my attention upon Gujarat and, health permitting, will next week make myself free to go to those parts of Gujarat where my presence may be required. I may possibly go as far as Bombay but not farther.

The Hindu, 12-4-1930

[1] Kunwar Suresh Singh, brother of Raja Saheb Kalakankar, was arrested in June 1930.

236. *MESSAGE TO HANSA MEHTA*

[Before *April 12, 1930*]

Tell Mrs. Hansa Mehta[1] that Bombay women should take up energetically the cause of preventing liquor consumption in the city of Bombay, as their contribution towards the fight for Purna Swaraj. Not only will that save crores of rupees to the poorest workmen in the world, but it will make a constructive step for the successful accomplishment of India's complete independence. India expects every woman to do her duty at this moment in the fight for freedom.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1930

237. *FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT, B.P.C.C.*

[Before *April 12, 1930*]

I know Bombay is doing extremely well. Indeed the whole country is suffering, surpassing all expectations. But the real heat is still to come. If it can stand that heat without retaliation and without weakening, the way to swaraj is clear. Let us hope we shall end as we have begun.

The Bombay Chronicle, 12-4-1930

238. *LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA*

DANDI,
April 12, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your wire. I was out visiting the villages in the morning and had instructed Pyarelal to send you a reply telegram but he forgot. I will not send one now at double rates. See my letter of yesterday and decide on the right course. Come here if you wish to or proceed to Delhi if that seems proper.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2380

[1] Wife of Dr. Jivraj Mehta, physician and Congress leader of Bombay

239. LETTER TO NANUBHAI DAVE

DANDI,
April 12, 1930

BHAISHRI NANUBHAI,

I got your letter. The description which you give is heart-rending, but I remain unperturbed knowing that our victory lies in enduring all this. If, however, the repression continues, we shall have to think of some form of agitation much more intense than the present one and invite upon ourselves still greater suffering. Write to me from time to time and give me all details. The information which you give should be verifiable. I shall be able to find a solution only with the help of such facts. If you can get the names of the officers who commit such repression, give those names too. Give also the names of those who may have been assaulted and send the results of medical examination as well.

Blessings from
MOHANDAS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16795

240. ARRESTS AND BRUTAL JUSTICE

Gujarat, it may be said, has saved our honour. Whole villages here have set out to offer civil disobedience. Men, women and children are taking part in it. At many places, we can see fields of salt. Illegal salt has found its way into people's houses. Gujarat no longer needs Government salt for its use. With a little bit of effort anyone who requires salt can carry away as much ready-made salt as he wishes.

But how could the Government tolerate this? It started arresting people. From Dholar at one end to Jalalpur taluka at the other there has been an awakening and leaders have been arrested. Amritlal Sheth, Manilal Kothari, Fulchand Kasturchand Shah, Dr. Hariprasadji, Rohit Mehta, Durbar Gopaldas, Gokuldas Talati, Ravishankar Vyas, Raojibhai Manibhai Patel, Ashabhai, Dr. Chandulal, Keshubhai Ganeshji, Ramdas Gandhi, Chimanlal Pranshankar, Bhikshuk or Darbari Sadhu, Kikubhai, Manubhai

and others are gracing prisons with their presence. There are many names which I have omitted. What does it matter whether all the names are mentioned or not? Durbar and his companions are in fetters and their heads have been shaved in prison. All this is good provided Gujarat values it.

The fact that those who at Aat, Ahmedabad and Dholka tried to protect their honour through the medium of salt were beaten is significant and unexpected. I had expected that the Government would not indulge in brutality and that it would send people to prison after duly trying them under laws. My expectations have been belied. How can one change one's nature all of a sudden? The Government has yet only given us a taste of its bloody claws; we can be sure there is more to come.

Going beyond Gujarat, we find Jamnalalji, Nariman and others have been arrested in Bombay. The cases are proceeding at great speed. But the sentences, it is apparent, will depend upon the whim of the magistrate.

In Delhi, Devdas Gandhi's companions have been beaten. Devdas and his companions have been arrested.

What reply will the nation give to this now? By the time this article is published, much else will have happened.

I expect still more from the people. A bonfire should be made of foreign cloth, there should be a *takli* in every hand. Schools and colleges should become empty. Lawyers and doctors can help in various ways. I have written separately regarding women. All aspects of a nation aspiring for freedom should be developed. It is a sign of weakness that Government jobs have not yet lost their fascination.

Weakness and freedom, however, do not go together. We can win swaraj today if we completely do away with weakness and selfishness wherever we find them. We can then open up the prison gates and have the satyagrahi prisoners also released.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

241. MILL-OWNERS AND KHADI

Shri Ranchhodlal Amritlal, who is himself a mill-owner, writes to say:[1]

It is a distressing tale. I am convinced, however, that as people's sacrifices increase, the hearts of the mill-owners will melt. I know that the khadi activity has benefited Indian mills. If, however, the latter instead of enjoying the sweet fruit of the tree attempt to eat up its roots, they will find they cannot do so and will even lose the fruit. Let me cite a brief example. Let us suppose that boycott of foreign cloth is successful; let us suppose that spurious khadi is passed off as genuine; and let us suppose that genuine khadi is unable to lift its head. In that case, one of two results could follow. Spurious khadi and other cloth made in mills would not be adequate. As people are not used to khadi they would clamour for foreign cloth and we would be worse off than we previously were, Indian mills would be swept away in the storm, the chain of non-violence would be broken and the enraged public would take to boycotting Indian mills. Or, supposing the goods from Lancashire were totally rejected, since the shield of khadi would not be there, the capitalists from Lancashire might start their mills in this country and Indian mills would suffer as a result of foreign capital and foreign talent establishing themselves here and thereafter swadeshi mills would regard it their duty to join the foreign mills in exploiting the people. Though one cannot yet claim that the sentiment for khadi has taken root in villages, nevertheless it has established itself to the extent that many well-educated persons are prepared to dedicate themselves to the cause of khadi. They will not allow khadi to die so long as they are themselves alive. If, therefore, mill-owners do not stop producing and selling mill-made cloth as khadi, there is every possibility of a fierce movement being launched against them. It will become our duty to start such a movement.

They ought to save themselves from such a movement. It is in their hands to do so. Here are the terms:

[1] The letter is not translated here. The correspondent, enclosing samples, had complained that many mills were manufacturing spurious khadi and selling it under the stamp of "pure swadeshi khadi".

(1) Indian mills must not produce cloth which resembles khadi.

(2) That which has been already produced should be exported.

(3) They should altogether stop using the khadi stamp.

(4) They should give up making cloth which could compete with khadi.

(5) They should consult with the Charkha Sangh and produce only such cloth as is beyond the scope of khadi.

(6) In consultation with the khadi committee, they should fix reasonable prices for mill-made cloth.

(7) No foreign yarn should be used in mills even for making borders.

(8) Mill-owners and others should totally give up using foreign cloth and wear only khadi as far as possible.

(9) They should stock khadi in the shops attached to mills.

During this period of self-purification it is highly essential for the mills to observe the above rules. If they do so the boycott of foreign cloth can be accomplished soon.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

242. TO THE WOMEN

Last week, writing about prohibition, I had mentioned that there was another activity also which women could and ought to take up. This activity is the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi. This is, or should be, the special field of women. For foreign cloth has ruined millions of homes and taken away from millions of women an employment which sustained them. Foreign cloth has ruined seven lakh villages in India. While on the one hand women have lost employment, on the other they have to pay for cloth which they could have produced in their own villages. People have developed a great liking for foreign cloth and they will not give it up without great effort and great penance. It is the women who embody that penance. Man can never make an impression upon people such as women can.

Besides, amongst those who wear foreign cloth the number of women exceeds that of men. And, in the final analysis, women will create a greater impact upon other women.

Hence it is for women to start picketing in front of shops selling foreign cloth. Men have failed in this task. But there is

no reason why women should fail. Moreover, in 1920-21 we did not have the same climate that there is now. It is women alone who can take advantage of this climate.

But there is also another aspect of this work. Supposing everyone was to burn their foreign clothes today, what then would they wear? Indian mills would not be able to produce all the cloth within a short period and perhaps even if they did we would not achieve the purpose that we wish to.

That purpose would be served through khadi alone. Khadi implies the *takli* or the spinning-wheel. In the latter lies the prosperity of India. It is *Annapurna*[1]. If people in every home work on the spinning-wheel, we can produce today as much khadi as we want. Producing khadi means spinning yarn. Men may well spin, but for generations the profession of spinning has been practised by women and men's hands do not possess the same skill in this that women's do. Women alone can bring about this solidarity among their own sex. I would, therefore, advise women to make this their special field of work.[2]

In this non-violent campaign, although our weapons are small they are very powerful since they have in them the power of God.

Therefore, all those sisters who have faith in the spinning-wheel and the *takli* and who wish to devote themselves to saving sixty crores of rupees every year, should take up this work of boycott and the task of propagating spinning.

It should be remembered that those sisters who wish to take up this work have to be prepared to go to the villages.

Sisters who have faith not in both but in only one of these activities should take up only that. I have suggested the two activities through which millions of women can develop themselves and contribute their full share in the *yajna* of swaraj.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 13-4-1930

[1] Giver of plenty

[2] Two paragraphs following this are not translated here. They are covered by paragraphs 11 and 12 of "To the Women of India", p. 221.

243. MESSAGE TO "THE HINDU"

April 13, 1930

I have full faith in Southern India making adequate response to the country's call for the uttermost sacrifice. I expect that the response is not only in connection with salt tax, but also in regard to intoxicating drinks and boycott of foreign cloth.

No part of India is perhaps better equipped for the boycott of foreign cloth and the promotion of khadi than South India. Civil disobedience with reference to the salt tax should be easy for the Southern people owing to the extensive seaboard near by from almost every part of that country.

The Hindu, 15-4-1930

244. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 13, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter. I have been having a talk with some women who have arrived. The conference itself will not start before 3.30. The reason for calling them here was that Janakibehn and some other women have arrived from Vile Parle and Mrs. Tyabji also has come from Baroda.

Consult your own convenience and come on the 16th. There is no need to reach here on the 15th. At the moment, at any rate, I cannot think of any additions to your list. I will write if I have any suggestion to make. Tell Ba that she has been posted to do picketing of liquor booths at Jalalpur and that she should, therefore, come after making all necessary preparations. She will not be in a position to return as Mithubehn is quietly starting the picketing work right from tomorrow. The idea is to begin with three booths, of which only one will be taken up tomorrow. The next will be the one at Olpad and the third at Jalalpur. Kanjibhai and Dr. Sumant will help and advise Mithubehn. As Olpad has Muslim residents, Hamida will work there. Kanjibhai's daughter is also there. Motibehn will have to be posted there. Probably

Surajbehn will also be there. But I shall have to consult Swami. Karsandas, who will be arriving this afternoon, will bring some more news.

Considering all aspects of the matter, and in order that we may have a quiet atmosphere, I think it best to have the meeting of the 16th at Dandi. The women will arrive after breakfast, etc., [by the first Mail].[1] They will spend the whole day here and be back at their respective places in time for their evening meal. If they wish to have their meal here, arrangements for that can also be made; but the arrangement here is bound to be a little unsatisfactory. Let me know if you have any change to suggest in this. You and Narandas or the women themselves should decide who should come from the Ashram. Khurshedbehn at any rate will not come and do not press her. Only those who have faith in this programme can carry it out.

Mohanlal Pandya, Nanubhai and Ishwarlal Desai, these three from Untadi have been arrested. Now it will be the turn of Kalyanji and others. It seems possible that in the end I shall remain at Dandi enjoying its air and you will remain there with no work to do.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11479

245. SPEECH AT GUJARATI WOMEN'S CONFERENCE, DANDI

April 13, 1930

There are certain activities which are meant only for women. Prohibition and boycott of foreign cloth are such activities; which if you do not take up, will never be accomplished. In 1921 I compelled men to take up these tasks and they did so out of fear, but how long could it last? In the end I had to accept defeat and suspend the activities. I would not have had to do so had I entrusted the work to women. But when I was utterly confused and had been defeated on all sides, God, like in that *bhajan* of the tortoise couple, made me entrust the work to women. It is no doubt very difficult to picket shops but women had been taking great risks in the past. It is for that reason that the world is still going on. Moreover both these activities required per-

[1] The source here is illegible.

suasion and change of heart. Women alone can enter the hearts of men and transform them. Moreover those women who have come here must be aware of the plight of the families where husbands drink. It is your duty to help your sisters' families from breaking up. Foreign cloth has taken away from fifteen crores of your sisters the noble profession of plying the spinning-wheel and have rendered crores of villagers unemployed. Khadi activity of ten insignificant years have brought ten lakhs of rupees to the women's homes. I want you to expand the activity so that crores of rupees are brought in. Once you take up this work, you have to discard foreign clothes—you should burn them. You may say you will wear out whatever you have or that you will preserve them. Even a drunkard might say that he would consume whatever liquour he had or keep it. How can we keep a thing which we consider to be a poison even for a day? We should throw it away lest our children by mistake take the poison. You may think that you have thrown that much money into water.

A woman picketer of Vejalpore had asked what the women should do if they were attacked while they were picketing. Gandhiji replied:

There is no danger of such attack. However if that happens or if the police try to disperse you with the help of horses then put up with it quietly. A woman has a remarkable capacity for suffering. Take it from me that the liquour shops will be closed down the day there is such an attack on women. You may be certain he will give up drinking for ever from that day.

[From Gujarati]
Prajabandhu, 20-4-1930

246. SPEECH AT DANDI[1]

April 13, 1930

I am happy that you have on your own come here in such large numbers on this the last day of the self-purification week, but you will not be happy if I do not say something to you on this occasion.

I have just concluded the women's conference. You will like to know your place in what I have told the women to do. The women have resolved to picket shops selling foreign cloth as also those who use it, and those who sell liquor as also those who

[1] Extracts from the speech were also published in *Young India*, 17-4-1930, under the heading "Men's Part".

drink it. We men may not interfere in this work. Let us treat this as the special field of women.

The success of this work depends entirely on the self-control of men. The assumption behind this is that men cannot easily control their anger, cannot easily practise non-violence, while women can do so. Renunciation and non-violence come naturally to women. Having been inspired by this idea I have tried to explain it to women. If my assumption is false, my conclusion will also be false to the same degree.

It is the duty of men to make the atmosphere congenial for women to do their work. We men should go to the dealers in liquor and foreign cloth and try to convince them that now that the women of India have come out they should give up trade in these two things.

Confronted by the large groups of women even liquor-booth owners and owners of shops selling foreign cloth will be startled and give up their trade. I know it is not easy to give up one's trade. But, at a time when the atmosphere is filled with national pride and patriotism, the people's capacity for renunciation automatically increases. During this week alone this capacity has increased a hundredfold, but it should increase a thousandfold.

Dealers in foreign cloth still seem to be calculating whether to give up their trade. They take a vow for three months or a year. Behind this act there is a lurking belief that they will be able to buy foreign cloth after a year. They do not make the effort that is needed to secure swaraj. This is because they lack the faith. But as this movement makes progress—trading in liquor and foreign cloth cannot but come to an end.

When hundreds of thousands of our countrymen have sacrificed their all, even these sceptical traders are bound to develop the strength to make sacrifices.

If women lack funds to continue the work after once starting it, I shall stretch out my hand to you, though at present, by the blessing of God, I am able to get more funds than I need. Only today, about a thousand rupees were collected at the women's meeting and a lady belonging to the Galiara family of Kathor gave four gold bangles without even being asked.

If we men are not indifferent and begin the work on our own, if, for instance, for want of enough khadi it becomes necessary to wear only a loin-cloth and we start doing so, to that extent we shall have lightened the burden of our womenfolk.

Miss Mayo has accused us saying that many of our men have no consideration for women, that we make them work as drudges,

as if they were born to be slaves. The world will be convinced that what Miss Mayo said was not true when women wake up and accomplish the tasks of boycotting foreign cloth and of prohibition.

The stocks of khadi in the country are dwindling and I am therefore asking everyone to spin and wear khadi and I am demonstrating this before you every day by spinning on the *takli*. Just as we grind and cook cereals which are available in every home we ought to spin the large quantities of cotton which grows in India into some kind of yarn, make cloth from it and then wear that cloth. When spinning becomes a universal activity in the country, you can rest assured that the trade in foreign cloth will come to an end.

Mills can never entirely meet the cloth needs of India and as most mills in India are either wholly or partly foreign, cloth made by only a few of them can be used if the need arises.

Women from good families have come out to take up these activities. Divan Shri Manubhai's daughter Shrimati Hansa Mehta and some other ladies have only recently issued a circular and begun the work of prohibition in Bombay. If Gujarati women continue to work in this spirit and if the men lend them support this activity will become widespread in India. All these three things are easy. When we have accomplished these three things we shall have saved six crores from the salt-tax, twenty-five crores from prohibition and sixty crores from the boycott of foreign cloth—ninety-one crores in all. We shall have become purer and added to our strength, and then it will not take long for us to secure swaraj.

Finally, we should take care that we do not lose what we have gained during these seven days.

I have just received news that some youths in Calcutta, who were reading out passages from proscribed books at meetings, were dispersed. On seeing the police committing such atrocities, Shri Sen Gupta, the Mayor of Calcutta, also started reading out paragraphs from those banned books and was immediately arrested.

Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee, the able khadi worker of Abhoy Ashram, who at one time received a salary of Rs. 600 a month from the Government, has been sentenced to a term of two and a half years' rigorous imprisonment for violating the salt law.

Notwithstanding such atrocities, just as we in Gujarat have not become frightened and given in, there too, they are not only not frightened but have become more resolute. Whatever the atrocities perpetrated on us, we do not want to use force on anyone or to insult anyone. A certain gentleman has informed me

that in Bombay when they were making bonfires of foreign cloth, caps from other people's heads were forcibly removed and burnt. I do not know how far this is true. But if it is true, rest assured that this struggle cannot go on. If force is used, people will not tolerate it; they will start fighting amongst themselves and the Government will take advantage of this situation.

If people do not want swaraj through the boycott of foreign cloth, we cannot make them do good under compulsion. In order to melt their hearts, we must make greater sacrifices and even practise satyagraha against them if it becomes necessary to do so.

What should I do if I was convinced that people were deceiving me, that having decided to boycott foreign cloth through khadi alone they pledged themselves to do so and then broke their pledge?

If I was convinced that I had become purified and wholly compassionate, I should, when the occasion arose, offer satyagraha and go on a fast. What should I do if you should raise your hands every day, say that if there is not enough khadi you will wear *lungotis* and then it should turn out that not a single sister spins? I might perhaps even at this advanced age have to say the same thing I said when I saw that the labourers of Ahmedabad had broken their pledge, and do what I did at the time of the riots in Bombay. I would do so unwillingly if I felt that we were deceiving God daily. I have faith that the people of Gujarat will never deceive me.

We want to live in peace and win swaraj peacefully. I do not wish to live to see disturbances in the country.

You just came on this day of my fast and I have said simply what I wanted to. You must prevent any use of force whether in Bombay or elsewhere. Whenever I hear of one of our men having abused someone, having been discourteous to someone or having used force against someone I feel deeply hurt and truly my heart begins to thump violently. If a doctor were to examine me at the time he would hear the sound. Despite this, I am able to survive, for at such times I close my eyes for a couple of seconds and repeat Ramanama. If I did not do so, my heart would stop beating there and then. You all may well call me Mahatma, but my task is that of a weak person. Do not, therefore, deceive me, at any time in this struggle. It will be all right if you sit at home, but once you join the campaign work sincerely.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

247. LETTER TO GULAM RASOOL QURESHI

April 13, 1930

CHI. QURESHI,

I got your letter. Our duty is to do all we can. It is for God to reward our efforts. Every rule should be observed. Meet Muslim friends. Spin on the *takli* daily and persuade others to do the same.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

The women's meeting today was good.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4295. Courtesy: Hamid Qureshi; also G.N. 6650

248. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS SHRIKANT

DANDI,
April 13, 1930

BHAISHRI LAKSHMIDAS,

I got your letter today. I only read it just now at 9.30 p.m., Sunday. So there was hardly any time for a message. I always wish you success in your tasks. Keep me informed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4204

249. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[On or before *April 14, 1930*][1]

MY DEAR MIRA,

Just one line to acknowledge your long love-letter. It is now nearing 10 p.m. So good night for the time being.

Love.

BAPU

Silence day or night? Silence breaks at midnight.

From the original: C.W. 5386. Courtesy: Mirabehn

250. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NAVSARI,
April 14, 1930

HAVE JUST HEARD JAWAHARLAL ARRESTED. I GREET YOU AND SARUPRANI AS HAPPY PARENTS. JAWAHARLAL HAS EARNED THE CROWN OF THORNS. WHO WILL OFFICIATE HIM?

The Bombay Chronicle, 15-4-1930

251. APPEAL TO THE YOUTH OF INDIA

[*April 14, 1930*]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's arrest was what I was hourly expecting. It was impossible for the Government to ignore the young President and an ideal patriot. If I know the country, the response, if it was tenfold after the arrest of the other leaders, will be a hundredfold after this crowning act of the Government. This arrest should cost the Government its existence.

[1] From its placing in *Bapu's Letters to Mira* this seems to have been written in April 1930. There was no letter on April 28 (*vide* "Letter to Mirabehn", p. 353) and the one of April 21 is available. So this could belong to April 14 or some other Monday before that.

Will the youth of the country realize this hope and now leave their schools and colleges and work solely for the attainment of independence?

No doubt there will be an all-India hartal, though it has little meaning in these times of big action.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-4-1930

252. LETTER TO MOTILAL NEHRU

DANDI,
April 14, 1930

DEAR MOTILALJI,

So Jawahar is to have six months' rest. He has worked like a Trojan. He needed this rest. If things continue to move with the present velocity, he won't have even six months' rest. The Jambusar[1] you saw the other day is different today. Whole villages have turned out. I never expected this phenomenal response. In many villages Government servants can get no service. The removal of some of our picked men has only stiffened the resistance of the people. But enough of this optimism. He will be a wise man who can say what will happen tomorrow. Accounts arriving from Bombay too are most encouraging. I take it you are following the pages of *Young India*.

How are you keeping?

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From the original: C.W. 9285. Courtesy: Allahabad Municipal Museum

253. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

[*April 14, 1930*][2]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have your letter.

I have arranged to meet all of you on Wednesday at Vejalpur. I shall go there from wherever I happen to be. I shall

[1] The addressee along with Jawaharlal Nehru had visited Jambusar towards the end of March 1930 to see Gandhiji on his way to Dandi.

[2] Gandhiji reached Vejalpur on April 16, 1930. Besides, in the "Letter to Mahadev Desai", 14-4-1930 (p. 260), Gandhiji mentions having written to him in the morning. It is likely this was the letter referred to.

try to reach the place early in the morning. The headquarters will be mostly at Karadi now.

If Swami's request stands, I shall leave for Bombay on Thursday evening and return from there on Sunday morning. I don't feel inclined to go to Bombay just now.

Your description of the happenings in Ahmedabad. . . .[1]

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11481

254. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

April 14, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

I have written about the anti-drink campaign and boycott of foreign cloth. Do you think you can do anything in the matter? Do you have the courage to take a leading part in that work?

I got your letters.

What are you doing there?

They told me yesterday that there was definite information that my arrest was imminent and kept me awake the whole night. I am still waiting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1797

255. LETTER TO MANILAL V. DESAI

DANDI,
April 14, 1930

BHAI MANILAL DESAI,

I got the book about salt which you sent with Keshavram. I am grateful.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a microfilm of the Gujarati: M.M.U./XXII/8

[1] The rest of the letter is not available.

256. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

Monday [*April 14, 1930*][1]

CHI. MAHADEV,

I wrote to you one letter in the morning. This is the second. It is 10.30 p.m. Jawahar has also been arrested. Pandya, Ghia and others have been arrested here. It is rumoured that they also intend to arrest Jugatram. All these persons certainly needed rest. They had been working ceaselessly. People seem to have learnt now to work on their own.

I shall not have to go to Bombay this week. Swami writes and tells me that he will invite me to go there next week after more preparation.

Bring Ba fully prepared. She should bring with her whatever things she may want. I have found some work for her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11480 and 11481

257. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

NAVSARI,
April 15, 1930

NEHRU
ALLAHABAD

FEEL SURE MY WEARING CROWN UNNECESSARY MAY EVEN BE HARMFUL. IF YOU CAN SHOULDER BURDEN YOU SHOULD.[2]

GANDHI

Motilal Nehru Papers, File No. G-1. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on April 13, 1930.

[2] Motilal Nehru, in his reply dated April 17, said: "Your telegram. Fully appreciate your point. Would have liked personal talk but consider longer interregnum harmful and gladly place my whole-time services such as they are at nation's disposal under your guidance. Assuming charge today. Issuing statement."

258. LETTER TO PRESIDENT, B.P.C.C.

April 15, 1930

Your wire fills me with joy. I wonder what response the youth of Bombay will make to the imprisonment of the President of the Congress. I am hourly needed in Gujarat for consolidating the work but I will come when absolutely needed.

The Bombay Chronicle, 16-4-1930

259. LETTER TO LAKSHMIDAS SHRIKANT[1]

April 15, 1930

. . . There must be a Divine plan even in the fact that the Panchmahals district is waking up late. It would not be surprising if, in this holy war, those who started first fall behind and those who started last take the first rank. There is no limit to the strength of the Panchmahals district. The pity is we often do not realize our own strength. This is the time to realize it. I certainly hope that Panchmahals will do so.

MOHANDAS GANDHI

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4206

260. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

DANDI,
April 15, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have just heard that you are going to be arrested soon! ! ! So be it. You will get some rest. The wonder is that they left you free even as long as they did. The more the people are tested the better.

"For this once, O Girdhari, save Thou my honour."

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11482

[1] The source does not give the name of the addressee. But in the G.N. collection the letter is listed as addressed to Lakshmidas Shrikant.

261. SPEECH AT UMBER

April 15, 1930

Mr. Gandhi asked the village women gathered there if they knew Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

They said, "How can we know?" Gandhiji remarked:

It is not your fault but of us men who have hitherto been satisfied with your being and remaining as house-keepers, cooks, scavengers and drawers of water but now you will no longer remain in that position. If this movement is to succeed, yours will have to be as big a share as men's, if not much bigger.

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Gandhiji said:

He was to all India what Sardar Vallabhbhai was to us in Gujarat. He was wearing himself out in the nation's service and has been punished because he was the greatest among us all.

Hitherto I have asked you to resist snatching of salt by the police from your closed fists and suffer mutely and meekly whatever injuries the police might inflict upon you. If you have got strength of suffering, and faith in your mission I want to go many steps further.

I would like you henceforth to regard yourselves as trustees or guardians not merely of the precious national wealth locked up in your fists but of the whole treasure now being prepared in salt pans. Defend that treasure with your life if that be the price you have to pay for it. When the police come and raid these pans, surround them and do not let the police touch them till they have overpowered you by sheer brute force.

Even if you are beaten you must not lose your temper. I hope that Gujarat has now become courageous to that extent. I am getting my strength from the strength of Gujarat. You must be prepared to endure suffering and keep the peace at any cost. Let them destroy pans but only after they have either arrested you or beaten you. This is altogether a new experiment and I leave it to you to make more pans wherever possible.[1]

[1] This paragraph is taken from a report in *The Bombay Chronicle*, 16-4-1930.

From your sufferings will rise into being not only Purna Swaraj but a non-violent army for its defence. Women ought not to take part alongside of men in defence of salt pans. I still give credit to the Government that it will not make war upon our women. It will be wrong on our part to provoke them into so doing. This is men's fight so long as the Government will confine their attention to men. There will be time enough for women to court assaults when the Government has crossed the limit. Let it not be said of us that men sought shelter behind women, well knowing they would be safe if they took women with them in what may be called, for want of a better name, aggressive non-violence. Women have in the programme I ventured to place before them enough work and to spare and all adventure and risk they may be capable of undertaking. The Labour Association of Ahmedabad has undertaken to picket liquor shops. Selling of contraband salt which was going on in Ahmedabad is now stopped. It will be done in villages by sending batches of volunteers.

He said that they must either make their own arrangements for food or must take whatever is cooked for them. They could not maintain kitchens for different tastes. This was a fight for self-purification and therefore they must leave off all bad habits. They must have perfect discipline and strength to suffer hardships. He asked all those who cannot submit themselves to discipline to resign in the beginning. But let them not cheat the community and nation. Even if there were only a few true volunteers the fight would go on. The fight has been well begun, and Gujarat has earned credit for it. Let it not be said that Gujarat lost the fight because of mistakes and lapses.[1]

The Hindu, 16-4-1930

262. *LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI MADHAVJI THAKKAR*

April 16, 1930

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I received your beautiful letter. I am replying rather late. I have no time. I got up today at a quarter past two in the morning.

I will give you sufficient work to do. I have understood the natures of you both. Your resolves are noble.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6795

[1] This paragraph is taken from *The Bombay Chronicle* report.

263. UNTOUCHABILITY

As in the matter of Hindu-Muslim unity so has there been misrepresentation in the matter of untouchability. It has been stated that I am sacrificing the interest of the untouchables for the sake of swaraj. I know that the lacs of untouchables will not believe any such thing of me. For me just as there is no swaraj without communal unity, so is there no swaraj without the removal of untouchability. But what I do feel is that without swaraj there will be neither communal unity nor removal of untouchability. He who runs may see that it is to the interest of the ruling caste to keep up the divisions among us. That caste is no more interested in Hindus and Mussalmans coming together than in the removal of untouchability.

In examining the sources of revenue I endeavoured the other day to show how the Government was built on an immoral foundation. Even so has it built itself upon our weaknesses and our vices.

Take the disgraceful Nasik quarrel. The Government knows that the Sanatanists are in the wrong. But what has it done? Because they represent a powerful interest, the untouchables have been sacrificed. It was open to the authorities to get together the Sanatanists and reason with them. It was open to them to reason with the untouchables and ask them not to precipitate a fight. But this required an impartial mind, disinterestedness. But the Government is not disinterested. It rejoices to see the parties quarrel and then side with the strongest. I know that many good-natured but ignorant Englishmen will cavil at this opinion. I can only tell them that it is based on everyday experience. I do not suggest that every time the action is deliberate. 'Might is right', 'divide and rule', have become the daily routine of the official world.

Such being my deep conviction, I would be wronging the minorities and wronging the untouchables if I stopped the progress towards swaraj by inaction. I hold that as soon as we have realized the power that is lying dormant in every one of us, that very moment we shall be free and we shall feel the glow of real unity and the untouchables will also feel an accession of power.

Let it be understood that everywhere the bands of civil resisters contain Mussalmans, members of other faiths as also untouchables, be these ever so few. The fact is that the foundations of

swaraj are being laid by those who regard communal unity, equality of rights and opportunity and removal of untouchability as articles of faith.

Let the untouchable brethren not be lured from the common goal because it was the presence of Englishmen that stimulated Hindu thought and brought to the untouchables a sense of their rights. The fact is there. But the English did not descend upon India with any such benevolent motive. Their civilization or rather the Western civilization does not recognize distinctions in the manner decayed Hinduism does. We could have profited by this excellence of theirs without having the infliction of their rule. My indictment is not against the English as men, it is against Englishmen as the ruling caste. As men they are as good as we. In some respects they are better, in some others they may be worse. But as rulers they are highly undesirable. As rulers they can do, have done, no good to any of us. They have pandered to, and accentuated, our vices. And as we have developed the inferiority complex, their contact demoralizes us. I have watched ourselves acting one way in their presence, another way behind their backs. This is an unmanly and unmanning process; it is unnatural. "The tallest of us," said Gokhale, "has to bend before them." When they come to their senses, they too will realize that their rule has no less debased them than us.

Now a word to the untouchables. I have advised them and I repeat the advice that it is wholly unnecessary for them to seek to force entry into the orthodox temples even through the method of satyagraha. It is the duty of the 'touchable' Hindus to secure for the untouchables the freedom of the temples. It is for the 'touchables' to offer satyagraha when the time is ripe. The untouchables know that the Congress has appointed, with Jamnalalji as the head, a committee for that very purpose. They know that very great progress has been made in the matter of removal of unouchability, they know that all over India are to be found hundreds of well-known believing Hindus who will lay down their lives to remove untouchability. The reformers hold it to be their duty and penance to purge the Hindu society of the evil. Let the untouchables know that the vast majority of them are today engaged in this life-and-death struggle. If they realize the truth of the statements I have made, they will at least suspend the satyagraha pending the struggle even if the whole mass of them will not join it as some of them have already done. The Hindu reformers have undertaken the work not as patrons, not to do the favour to the untouchables, certainly not to exploit them politically. They have undertaken the

task because their conception of Hinduism peremptorily demands it. They have either to leave Hinduism or to make good the claim that untouchability is no part of it but that it is an excrescence to be rooted out.

Young India, 17-4-1930

264. THE INHUMAN TAX

Every new experience gained of the incidence of the salt tax shows it to be more inhuman than it appeared at first. Living and moving as I am in the midst of the salt area in Gujarat, I find that villages have been ruined because of the prohibition of salt manufacture by the villagers. The only use the people can make of the land is to extract salt from it which nature deposits in abundance from month to month. This was the poor man's staple industry in these parts. Now all this land lies fallow. Dandi itself has a tragic history. It is a beautiful seaside place. It takes its name from the fact that it was a place for a *diva dandi*, i.e., a lighthouse. Now it is a deserted village. A European and then Indians tried against nature to reclaim the soil for cultivation. As I walk about the otherwise beautiful peace-giving shore and listen for the heavenly music of the gentle waves, I see about me wasted human effort in the shape of dilapidated embanked fields without a patch of vegetation. These very fields, immediately the hateful salt monopoly is gone, will be valuable salt pans from which villagers will extract fresh, white sparkling salt without much labour, and it will give them a living as it did their ancestors.

Mahadev Desai has already shown that the Government communique that this salt is injurious to health is a wicked falsehood.[1] In spite of the inhuman regulations, the people round about this area have used none but the salt that nature provides here in abundance. They do not seem to have felt any the worse for it. Thousands all over this area have been during the past week eating this salt with impunity. I hear that in Konkan people have all these years used what they regard as swadeshi salt in contradistinction to the taxed salt which they regard as *sarkari* or foreign, although in the first instance it was yielded by India's earth and seas. The recipe which I publish in this issue has been prepared by two careful men who have graduated in science.

[1] Mahadev Desai's article entitled "A Brazen Lie" was published in *Young India*, 10-4-1930.

According to it every household can prepare its own salt without any expense whatsoever. One boy has merely to fetch a *lota*-ful[1] of salt water and it has merely to be strained or filtered and put near the fire in a shallow pan and treated in accordance with the recipe and the householders have every day's supply of salt much cleaner and healthier than the '*sarkari*'[2] or 'foreign' dirty salt to be had in the bazaars. Let the salt satyagrahis (and they are to be counted in their tens of thousands now) not waste a single grain of swadeshi salt. Law or no law, there is now no excuse for anyone to eat the bazaar salt. Swadeshi salt must be introduced even where there are no salt beds. It can be easily transported in small quantities from place to place. Let the Government prosecute tens of thousands of men and women or, if they dare, send their officials to search their persons and brutally force it from them. Let them say: 'The salt law allows it.' I have already shown that the salt regulations are as inhuman as the tax itself. If the history of the administration in the early stages of these regulations were known, it would be found that these inhuman regulations were as inhumanly administered in order to deprive the people of their natural calling and compel them to take the blood-stained *sarkari* salt. Let the reader know that even palanquins bearing *purdahnashin*[3] women were searched in order to prevent the transport of illicit salt. If today we have to bear hardships in the attempt to have this iniquitous tax removed, we are but doing a modicum of penance for our past neglect and shameful submission to the impost. The reader will thus see that it is not merely the tax, heavy as it is, that is offensive. It has not one redeeming feature about it. The revenue it brings is not the only cost to the nation. The cost to the nation is probably twenty crores per year besides the loss of an equal amount of salt which is wantonly destroyed or prevented from being gathered.

Young India, 17-4-1930

[1] A *lota* is a metal jug.
[2] Literally, of the Government
[3] Wearing *purdah*

265. *A SURVEY*

The mass manifestation in Gujarat has exceeded all expectations. Bombay and its suburbs have done no less. And the reports slowly coming to me at this out-of-the-way place from all over India are fully encouraging. It is a matter of the keenest joy to me to see Maharashtra united once more and Sjt. N. C. Kelkar and his friends joining the struggle. Sjt. Kelkar's and Sjt. Aney's resignations are events of great importance in the struggle. Bengal is the most tempestuous province in all India. It is pulsating with life. Its very factions are symptomatic of its great awakening. If Bengal responds in the right style it is likely to overshadow every other province. I do not know that any province, even Maharashtra, can claim the credit that Bengal can for voluntary sacrifice. If its emotional side is its weakness, it is also its greatest strength. It has the capacity for reckless abandon to non-violence, if such use of language is permissible. Sjt. Sen Gupta's action in response to the wanton assault on the students' meeting has evoked the sentiment above expressed. The sentence of Dr. Suresh Bannerji and others pales into insignificance before the possibilities of the move on the part of the Bengal students and the savage counter-move on the part of the police. I know what the Calcutta Commissioner of Police will say if he sees these lines. I hear him saying, 'But you do not know my Bengal.' Well, I know his Bengal more than he ever will. His Bengal is the creation of the Government. If the Government will cease to molest Bengal and not keep India from her cherished goal, Bengal will be as gentle as the greatest province of India. If Bengal is seething with the violent spirit, it is because of her sufferings.

But I expect Bengal's imagination to come to her assistance and to realize that non-violence is the trump-card. All the suffering must be dedicated to the goddess of ahimsa.

Soon after the Jallianwala massacre, I used to express and reiterate the hope that next time in no part of India must people run away on bullets being discharged against them, and that they must receive them in their chests with arms folded and with courageous resignation. That testing time seems to be coming faster than I had expected. And if we are to train ourselves to receive the bullet wounds or bayonet charges in our bare chests,

we must accustom ourselves to standing unmoved in the face of cavalry or baton charges. I know that it is easier said than done. Nevertheless, I must say it if we are ever to complete our training in mass non-violence. That mass non-violence is a perfect possibility has been sufficiently demonstrated during the past eight days. Mahadev Desai has given a realistic account of the brutal treatment of volunteers in the Dholera salt bed and the volunteers suffering the brutality with meek heroism. What thousands in Bombay did when the police acted with rashness and harshness if also with comparative considerateness can be studied from a condensed translation published elsewhere of a graphic description sent to me by Pandit Mukund Malaviya. His report is in the main corroborated by Dahyabhai, Sardar Vallabhbhai's son, who was also an eye witness.

Perinbai and her companions as also Kamaladevi acted with rare courage and calmness. But they would allow me to say that they would have done better to remain outside the venue of the men's fight. For women to be in the midst of such danger as they put themselves in was against the rule of chivalry. Anyway that time is not yet. Let them by all means manufacture salt in their thousands. But they may not remain deliberately in crowds which they know are likely to be charged. I have in all humility suggested to them an exclusive field in which they are at liberty and are expected to show their best qualities. There is in that field enough scope for adventure and heroism.

To revert, if then we are to stand the final heat of the battle, we must learn to stand our ground in the face of cavalry or baton charges and allow ourselves to be trampled under horses' hoofs or bruised with baton charges. An armed crowd would stand firm and retaliate if there were such charges. We, if we would learn the lesson of non-violence, should show greater courage by standing our ground without anger, without retaliation. Then a reincarnation of Dyer will find us ready for receiving bullets in the bare breast.

People have already begun to defend their salt pans. If we have evolved that sufficient amount of courage, it must be done methodically and regularly. As soon as the police come to charge us and break through the living wall, women should, if the police give the opportunity, stand aside and let their men be wounded. They do so all the world over in armed conflict, let them do so in a conflict in which one party deliberately chooses to remain unarmed.

When there are no men left to fight the battle of free salt,

if [they] have courage let them take up the work deserted by men. But I have no doubt that men will give a good account of themselves in this struggle.

I have already examined elsewhere the argument that the police must use force if people will not surrender the contraband salt in their possession. Here I would only remind these critics that even from confirmed thieves they do not take stolen property by force except after they are brought under arrest and then too never if they are not to be brought to trial. The property still remains the thief's until he is convicted and the court adjudges the property not to be his. That the salt regulations make the policeman the arresting officer, prosecutor and judge all rolled into one is no answer to my charge of barbarity in respect of the procedure adopted by the authorities.

Young India, 17-4-1930

266. PRESIDENT'S REWARD

The President of the Congress has had his laurels cheap. For a telegram just received from Pandit Motilalji tells me that Pandit Jawaharlal has been sentenced to six months' simple imprisonment. But even a day's imprisonment of the nation's first servant is an affront offered to the whole nation. Through this imprisonment the Government have told us to do our worst. And the worst we can do is to invite more suffering upon ourselves. This can only be done by our intensifying the campaign. Great as is the work being done by the youth of the country, I must confess that I am not satisfied with the response from the students. They have not yet got self-confidence. They do not believe that swaraj is coming soon. They do not realize that it is for them to anticipate its advent by simple faith and acting upon it. But faith cannot be given by anybody. It has to come from within. The country will watch the effect of Pandit Jawaharlal's incarceration upon the thousands of students who are still hankering after degrees and diplomas.

Young India, 17-4-1930

267. SPECIAL TASK BEFORE WOMEN

The conference of women on Sunday last at Dandi became a Congress as I had wanted it to be. Thanks to the Government prohibition against the Baroda territory cars plying between Navsari and Dandi, many had walked the full 12 miles to Dandi. The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

I

This conference of the women of Gujarat assembled at Dandi on 13th April, 1930 having heard Gandhiji, resolves that the women assembled will picket liquor and toddy shops of Gujarat and appeal to the shop-keepers and the shop-goers [to desist] from plying their trade or drinking intoxicating liquors as the case may be, and will similarly picket foreign-cloth shops and appeal to the dealers and the buyers to desist from the practice of dealing in or buying foreign cloth as the case may be.

II

This conference is of opinion that boycott of foreign cloth is possible only through khadi and therefore the women assembled resolve henceforth to use khadi only and will so far as possible spin regularly and will learn all the previous processes and preach the message of khadi among their neighbours, teach them the processes up to spinning and encourage them to spin regularly.

III

This conference appoints the following Executive Committee with power to draw up a constitution and to amend it from time to time and add to their number:[1]

1. Mrs. Tyabji (President)
2. Shrimati Mithubehn Petit (Secretary)

MEMBERS

3. Shrimati Manibehn Patel
4. ,, Rohini Desai
5. ,, Chandubehn

[1] These four paragraphs have been taken from "Women in Conference", *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

This conference hopes that Gujarati women will welcome this activity and participate in it.

This conference hopes that women all over Gujarat and the other provinces will take up the movement initiated at this conference.[1]

The same resolutions were passed also in Vejalpur; only the first resolution was divided into sections. Two distinct sections dealt with prohibition and the boycott of foreign cloth through khadi, so that women who believed in only one of these causes could vote for that one alone. At the second conference three more names were added:

Shrimati Shardabehn Sumant Mehta
Shrimati Savitabehn Trivedi
Shrimati Surajbehn Manilal

This vote need not be considered as having much value. It is valuable to the extent that not a single resolution was opposed at the meeting, for it shows that even if the women present may not be prepared to put the resolution into practice, nevertheless they approved of its substance. At both these conferences women from villages were present in greater numbers. The struggle this time is of the villages especially. The awakening in the villages is astonishing which is a good sign. Salt, the boycott of foreign cloth and prohibition — all these three are specially meant for villages and the women would benefit especially.

Even if a few women are ready to lay down their lives for the sake of this resolution, they will come forward. If this does not happen the conference will not be deemed to have completed its work. If the number of women present at the conference is any indication, the women would seem to be prepared for work.

The soul of any organization is its executive committee. Hence the success of the work depends upon the enthusiasm, the *tapascharya* and the skill of the ladies who have given their names for the committee.

Mithubehn Petit has started the work with great alacrity. According to her accounts habitual drunkards are enthusiastically breaking earthen jars containing toddy. Thousands of persons in Surat who are given to drinking, have started having resolutions passed by their castes prohibiting drinking.

Once women become self-confident and gain faith, they will find from experience that the fear which they entertain has no basis. Rama and Ravana dwell in every human being. If

[1] This paragraph has been taken from *Young India*.

women would act through the Rama who is in them, the Ravana who dwells in man would be powerless. Rama awakens less readily in men than in women. Who can harm one who is protected by Rama? Who can protect one with whom Rama is displeased?

In the work of prohibition, once the initial fear is shed, things become easy. For all it involves is picketing. Those who drink are not wicked. They are simple folk. Their self-interest is not involved in drinking. Once they are convinced, they will give up liquor. The liquor-booth owners do have their self-interest involved but they realize that this is an immoral trade.

I regard this extension of the swaraj movement as of the highest importance. I need not reiterate the argument already advanced in these pages. Mithubehn has already commenced operations. She is not the woman to let the grass grow under her feet. The idea is for twenty to twenty-five women to go in one batch and plant themselves near each liquor shop and come in personal contact with every visitor to the liquor or toddy shops and wean him from the habit. They will also appeal to the shopkeepers to give up the immoral traffic and earn their livelihood through better means.[1]

Foreign-cloth shops are to be treated in the same way as liquor shops as soon as there are enough trained women volunteers. Though the same committee will carry on the two boycotts it will necessarily have two branches. It will be open to any woman to offer her services for only one branch of work, nor is it necessary that every worker should belong to the Congress. Only this must be clearly undestood, that the work is part of the Congress programme and has tremendous political results if it has also equally great moral and economic consequences.

Those who will belong to the foreign-cloth boycott branch should realize that without the constructive work of khadi production the mere boycott will be a mischievous activity. Its very success without the production of khadi will prove the ruin of the national movement of independence. For the millions will take it up in simple faith. But they will curse us if they discover that they have no cloth to wear or the cloth they can get is too dear for their purse. The formula therefore is: discard foreign cloth and make your own khadi and wear it. Already there is a dearth of khadi.

[1] This and the following two paragraphs have been taken from *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

The boycott of foreign cloth is, however, a difficult matter. It has two aspects; boycott and khadi production. The boycott does not require much effort. Only a few women would suffice for the work. For the production of khadi thousands and even hundreds of thousands would have to be regularly active. Hence it would require organization and planning. However, it is a work needing patience, as it requires intelligence and faith. In the course of it you have to come in contact—directly or indirectly—with crores of women. It requires a pure co-ordination between towns and villages. And, through it all the khadi India needs can be produced in a short time. We have before us all the means to produce it. We have the necessary skill too. All that we lack is workers. It is the sisters who must create these workers. They can do so only when they themselves learn to card and spin and disseminate the art among others. Most of the khadi workers are in the salt campaign. Therefore the production has suffered a temporary check.[1]

But there need never be any dearth of cloth the moment the country gets disabused of the superstition that it must buy cloth to cover its nakedness. It would be on a par with someone saying that we must starve if we cannot get Manchester or Delhi biscuits. Even as we cook our food and eat it so can we, if we but will it, make our own cloth and wear it. We did it only a hundred years ago and we can relearn the trick now. All the vital processes are almost too simple to learn. At this supreme crisis, this turning-point in the nation's history, we must not hesitate and nurse idleness. I do not need to restate the argument about our mills. Even if every mill were genuinely swadeshi and even if all became patriotic, they could not supply all our wants. Whichever way we look at it, whether we like it or not, we cannot escape khadi if we are to achieve independence through non-violent means and if we are to achieve the boycott of foreign cloth on which we began concentration in 1920.

Of men's part in the boycott I have said enough in my speech which I unexpectedly delivered to the men who had come to Dandi. Relevant parts of this speech are reproduced elsewhere.[2] Suffice it here to say that men will damage the movement if they will meddle with women's picketing wherever it is undertaken by them.

[1] The last two sentences and the following two paragraphs have been taken from *Young India*, 17-4-1930.

[2] *Vide* pp. 252-5.

By passing the above two resolutions Gujarati women have taken up the responsibility and Begum Amina Tyabji and their committee have shouldered the responsibility on their behalf. May God grant them strength!

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930 and *Young India*, 17-4-1930

268. "SATYAGRAHA YUDDHA"

The Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, has issued a booklet under the above title. Let everyone read it. Those who are not regular readers of *Hindi Navajivan*, or those who have to train themselves for the satyagraha campaign will find the booklet especially useful.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-4-1930

269. PRESIDENT IN PRISON-HOUSE

Pandit Jawaharlal is in jail. This means that the Government has thrown the whole of India into prison. If we understand this, then our duty becomes clear at once. If we wisn to force the jail doors open we must do these things.

1. We should make salt everywhere and distribute it.
2. Women should picket liquor shops, that is, they should humbly plead with the sellers and consumers of liquor to desist from selling and drinking it.
3. Women should similarly dissuade those that sell and those that wear foreign cloth.
4. Spinning should be started in every home.
5. Students should leave schools and dedicate themselves to national work.
6. Lawyers should give up their practice and devote all their time to this national *yajna*.
7. Those in other occupations should also give for these activities as much time as they can.
8. People should leave Government jobs.

9. Under no circumstances should people become disorderly or commit violence.
10. They should not look down upon anyone. They should live at peace with all.

If we did this much our strength would certainly increase and no one would dare deflect us from our path.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 17-4-1930

270. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 17, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Yesterday I sent the replies to your questions orally through Gangabehn. They must have been conveyed to you.

What you write about accounts is correct. I intend to write in *Navajivan* about the matter.

I had sent to you by return of post my reply to your question concerning. . .[1] Mahadev must have explained to you why you did not get it. If Ramji Sahay wants to go to his own province to work, he may do so. He should pay his own fare if he can.

I have already written to you asking you to send some women. Have you found some work for Keshu?

Think of all possible plans to increase the production of khadi.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

You will have to send the thing to Malkani, since I had not written to him to say no. Now I do not wish to write.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8100. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] The name has been omitted.

271. INTERVIEW TO FREE PRESS OF INDIA

JALALPUR,
April 17, 1930

It is too early for me to speak with certainty anything about the so-called riots in Calcutta and Karachi. Having become used to grossly exaggerated accounts and distorted versions of things happening before my eyes, I am inclined largely to discount the stories of violence alleged to have been done by people. But be it ever so little, I have no manner of doubt that it harms the struggle, and at the same time the struggle has to go on unchecked. If non-violence has to fight people's violence in addition to that of Government, it must still perform its arduous task at any cost. I see no escape from it.

At the very outset of the campaign I had declared that there was every possibility of some violence breaking out on the part of the people. It seems now to have broken out; and it hurts me, only because it hurts the cause I hold as dear as life itself. But I must say that Government have provoked it in dispersing the meeting where no violence had been done; to prohibit public meetings and processions altogether is a thing calculated to precipitate violence. Government have with utmost deliberation picked up the leaders of the people who were known to be partial to non-violence and to possess controlling influence on the people. It would have been miraculous if this gross interference with popular liberty had not evoked reprisals from easily inflammable people, who were to be found in every community and in all parts of the world. Take Gujarat itself; and in the out-of-the-way Dholera and near Viramgam unnamable and indecent atrocities are said to have been committed upon defenceless national workers. Their only crime was that they would not easily yield up the salt in their possession.

In the first place, I do not know that outside India under any civilized government, authority has been given to the police forcibly to take away from people anything unless it is of a dangerous character. I know that Salt Acts do give such powers. That merely illustrates my view. A barbarous act does not become less so by having the authority of law, and the practice of indecent torture is utterly intolerable and calculated to exhaust

the patience of any people. The obvious fact is that Government [do not] want peace. I observe that Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram has come in for a bullet wound in the thigh. I am delighted it is Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram rather than some unknown person to have been thus injured. Mr. Jairamdas is one of the greatest persons to be found in all India. If he was in the crowd, he was there not to incite people to violence but to prevent it.

Spilling of such innocent blood will hasten the end, but such casualties will only result in the manifestation of greater response from people. Let me, however, warn those whom my message may reach that if they cannot restrain themselves, they must not interfere with the struggle. If they do, they will only retard the country's progress towards its goal.

I know, however, that soon my word will cease to reach the people. All instruments I possess will have been snatched away from me, but they cannot snatch away one thing from me and that is my unshakable faith in my cause. A mass movement like the one we see in front of us is regulated not by men but by God. Manifestation has been spontaneous. It has required but little guidance.

If what I have seen happening in Gujarat is an index to what has happened in other provinces of India, the movement has been largely self-directed. I have, therefore, still every hope that at the end of the struggle it would be possible to say of it that even though regrettable violence now and then broke out, it remained predominantly and overwhelmingly non-violent. Not what happens in cities but what happens in villages will decide the fate of India.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1930

272. *SPEECH TO VOLUNTEERS, VEJALPUR*

April 17, 1930

Gandhiji at the outset said that they had gathered to decide about their future programme. The Government was doing quite the opposite of what he thought would be done. They had belied the expectations of the satyagrahis. He expected that he would be arrested, but he was still free. The Government has miscalculated. The word 'defeat' is not to be found in the dictionary of a satyagrahi. There was no defeat for them who were ready to die and suffer. Out of these sufferings mighty strength would be created with which all Government laws could be broken.

They had broken the salt laws successfully. What should they do next? He had heard of riots in Calcutta and Karachi. From what he had read in the newspapers he could find that somewhere there was some mistake on the part of the people and it was regrettable. Though he expected that the people would remain non-violent, he did not think that such occurrences would never happen.

I cannot teach peace and non-violence by stopping the fight. How can one man keep in check crores of people? We must do our duty and the people will understand by themselves. I hope Gujarat has well understood the lesson of non-violence, which is our religion at the present moment. We must suffer till the goal is reached.

Continuing, Gandhiji said that he wanted that all should be prepared to serve as national volunteers till swaraj is attained and asked those who wanted to retain their services under the condition to raise their hands fearlessly. All the volunteers except 48 raised their hands.

Gandhiji congratulated those 48 satyagrahis who did not raise their hands for their courage and assured them that they would be given other work in their own villages.

The question of ration for the national army was then discussed. It was unanimously resolved by the volunteers, at the suggestion of Mahatmaji, that their food should be simple and should not cost more than annas 5 per head per day. But option was given with the permission of the Captain to take meals privately at the volunteers' own expense. But Gandhiji wanted them to use the option as rarely as possible, as they as national soldiers were expected to behave with self-restraint. He said that in England even Kings had to work as sailors where they got the same food as ordinary sailors.

The resolution regarding smoking by soldiers of the national army evoked keen debate. Gandhiji said that he did not want to dismiss all those who were habituated to smoke, but suggested that they must try to do without smoking.

Concluding the conference, Mahatmaji laid great stress on the fact that they must always be at their post and asked them to observe all the rules they had themselves passed after full deliberation and of their own free will. He asked them to be of good moral character. If they did national work with impure conscience swaraj would go farther away from them. He said he would be glad if he saw his own national soldiers suffering and receiving bullets on their own chests and out of the ashes of these non-violent soldiers of freedom, swaraj would be born.

The Bombay Chronicle, 18-4-1930

273. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

VEJALPUR,
April 17, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your two letters.

I can understand how the mishap occurred as to the yarn.

I understand too your natural desire to come. But I am [sure] restraint was better. It is a fine saying "there is no remission of sin except by being born again."

You know however that you are at liberty to come if you cannot help it. But then you must come plainly to satisfy the natural desire. If you can suppress the desire, so much the better.

Calcutta and Karachi have broken the spell. Somehow I am unmoved. But there is no suspending even if moving violence takes place.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5392. Courtesy: Mirabehn

274. LETTER TO SHAUKAT ALI

VEJALPUR,
April 17, 1930

DEAR BROTHER,

I have your astonishing letter today. The original has not been received. It is now 10.30 p.m. But I may not let your letter go unanswered even for a night.

I had no knowledge of the extent to which I had fallen in your estimation.

If I had lost confidence in you, I should certainly have told you. What I have lost I have told you—confidence in your judgment. Even now I shall defend the Nehru Report[1]. But I own it is useless if it cannot satisfy the Mussalmans or the other

[1] A draft constitution for India prepared by a committee headed by Motilal Nehru; *vide* Vol. XXXVIII.

minorities. That was why I moved the saving resolution in Calcutta in Motilalji's absence, but with his full consent and approval. Surely it should be enough for you that the Nehru Report and, with it, the communal scheme are buried. What the scheme shall be in an independent India will be for Mussalmans, Sikhs, other minorities and Hindus to decide. If I erred in endorsing the Nehru Report, I did so with Dr. Ansari. This was enough for me.

Your charge that I did not consult you on embarking on civil disobedience is true. But how could I when I knew there was no meeting ground between us?

Can you not see that, although I may act independently of you, it might not amount to desertion? My conscience is clear. I have deserted neither you nor the Mussalmans. Where is the desertion in fighting against the salt tax and the other inequities and fighting for independence? Lastly, time will prove what no assurance from me can prove.

You are at liberty to publish the whole of the correspondence between us.

I hope that your fears about Mahomed Ali's eyes will never be realized. His eyes are wanted even if it be to fight me. May God bless him and you.

Yours ever,

From a photostat: S.N. 16810

275. ADVICE TO VOLUNTEERS

NAVSARI,
April 17, 1930

A question arose in Mahatma Gandhi's camp today about volunteers requiring more khadi to replace their torn clothing. Mahatma Gandhi said that the volunteers should dispense with the torn or lost pieces and should be satisfied with mere loin-cloth as the millions in India had to.

The Bombay Chronicle, 19-4-1930

276. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU[1]

April 18, 1930

THANKS. YOU HAVE CONSIDERABLY RELIEVED ME. MAY GOD GIVE YOU STRENGTH.

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

277. TELEGRAM TO N. R. MALKANI

NAVSARI,
April 18, 1930

MALKANI, CONGRESS
KARACHI

CONSIDER JAIRAMDAS MOST FORTUNATE. BULLET WOUND THIGH BETTER THAN PRISON. WOUND HEART BETTER STILL.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 9261. Courtesy: Jairamdas Doulatram

278. LETTER TO RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL

April 18, 1930

CHI. RAOJIBHAI,

I have sent all of you there with great hopes. Mahadev writes and tells me that they are spending money extravagantly in the Kheda district. Put a check on this. One of you should remain with Abbas Saheb, so that no one harasses him for money. There is no one there to act as leader. You should take up the leadership and assume control of things.

The boycott also seems to be turning violent in spirit. Be vigilant about this, too. Meet the Headmen who have resigned and, if any of them are resorting to coercion against others, check them.

[1] This was sent on receipt of intimation from the addressee that he had assumed charge of the presidentship of the Congress; *vide* also "Telegram to Motilal Nehru", p. 260.

If any of those who have not resigned are being harassed, that should be stopped. Allay the fears of all who have not resigned. The supply of provisions to such persons ought not to be stopped.

Think carefully about every step you take.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 8987

279. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 19, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have written in *Navajivan* about money falling into the hands of too many people. I have also told Mahadev to take all possible steps.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8101. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

280. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

POST JALALPUR,
April 19, 1930

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I have your letter. How can I advise you? After giving up legal practice, one can only go on with the cases which are pending. This is what Motilalji, Das and others had done. You should decide for yourself what you should do.

Have you positively decided to invite me to Bombay? In reply to my letter to him, Swami had wired to say that I should not go till I had heard from him. He must have seen you. I have really no time to go to Bombay just now. I shall be satisfied if things here are properly organized.

It is very good indeed that you have decided to go to Broach.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

From Gujarati: C.W. 7512. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

281. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 19, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Tell all the women that no one should suppose that I will not call them here. I will call them here soon, but write to me immediately and tell me who must remain there.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8745. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

282. SPEECH AT MEETING OF HEADMEN, VEJALPUR

April 19, 1930

The way of ahimsa by itself is such that it can produce riches out of dust. The Government's is the way of violence. It mixes earth with salt, while we produce salt out of earth. The Government destroys, we create. It has guns and cannon, we have no such arms. It has huge factories, we have nothing of the kind. Our factory is in our cottage, and our machinery is the *takli*. For you it is a matter of faith that swaraj hangs by a thread of yarn. It was you who took the pledge to carry out in six months the constructive programme for swaraj. Keep that pledge and justify my faith in you. If you do so, Bardoli can win swaraj for India.

Now that you have given up being Headmen of the Government you should become Headmen of the people. In the villages where you served as Headmen you should now work as true Headmen; in other words you should serve the people of these villages.

There are many ways of serving. But first take up these.

Every man in your village should break the salt law by making salt not only for use in his home, but also some to be stored for people living away from the sea-coast.

But this work is not likely to take the whole of your day. Hence, the next item of work for you is to see that foreign cloth is banished from your villages. The right way to do so is to sit in your homes and twirl the *takli*, which you can make without spending a pie. If you Headmen start spinning on it the other

people in the village will follow suit. In numbers is strength, as the saying goes. And by making all people in the village wear khadi you will be able to save the village wealth from being drained away.

Moreover, if all of you take up the work seriously, you can soon get the liquor shops closed, since you have your finger on the pulse of the village.

Then you should provide arbitration in village disputes, which is important work. You are well versed in these matters. Some of you probably are addicted to this kind of work. If they have to remain idle after resigning as Headmen they may regret having resigned. I was myself a practising lawyer. Having left practice I have never had to repent since I found for myself work that kept me occupied even more than legal practice had. The Headmen may very well give up their jobs, but they should have village council meetings in their homes. They should set up boards of arbitration. Being well acquainted with the affairs of the village, these boards will be able to settle disputes in a just and satisfactory manner.

In order that you can do all this work in an organized way I suggest that you establish an association of ex-Headmen. If such an association comes into being, I should like to have regular reports of its work so that I am kept informed about all your activities.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-5-1930

283. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT BARDOLI

April 19, 1930

Headmen and Talatis are looking frightened. They have a lingering belief that through the present Government they can enjoy prestige and status and plunder the people in the name of the Government. That is why you find it necessary to persuade them to resign and to employ the weapon of social boycott against them. Truly speaking, there should be no need to persuade anyone or to put pressure on anyone in the form of boycott. A person should himself be able to see that his dirty job and soiled power are things to be abjured. And why talk only of the Headmen and Talatis? I do not believe that even others have full faith in this struggle. But we have to build on the courage that has been roused among the people. I want that the Headmen and Talatis who have not yet resigned should do so at once. And those who resign should do

so totally. To keep charge of the village books and to continue waiting on the officers after resigning the post would be deceiving the people. Rather than do so, they should boldly say: "Boycott us if you like. But we do not yet see the need to resign."

Defying the salt law is only a part of our work. Our aim is to win swaraj. To that end, it is necessary to undertake other items of work also. We should see to it that all the liquor shops are closed down. For the present, a few of our sisters have boldly come forward and taken up the task. It is not necessary for all the women to come out of their homes. They should banish liquor from their own villages. We should not abuse anyone, we should not lift our hand against anyone. Go to the owner of the liquor shop, and entreat him to close his shop. Plead humbly with the drink addicts also. This is easy for women to do. Men should help them in their work of persuasion and cut down the toddy palms for their owners. Both men and women can do all this without leaving their villages.

The third item is the boycott of foreign cloth. That task, too, we have entrusted to our sisters. It may appear to you a difficult job, but to me it seems easy. Or, to the extent that it is difficult, when accomplished it will make the winning of swaraj easy. There is no exaggeration in saying that this Government remains in our country chiefly for its cloth trade. You cannot think of all the other trade that is allied to this direct trade of 66 crores. You will, like the people of Karadi, collect and burn foreign cloth. Brothers and sisters of Bardoli, burn with faith all the foreign cloth you have, but at the same time take a pledge that you will wear khadi. If you do so, you will save so much expenditure on clothes. If you wear fine garments of foreign or mill-made cloth, you will each need a score or more of them. But if you wear khadi a loin-cloth for men and just a sari for women will do. Also, the khadi vow should be a vow to wear khadi woven from yarn spun by oneself. That is not difficult to do. For though you cannot learn weaving in a short time, I can teach you spinning on the *takli* right away. If you spin the yarn, the ashrams will undertake to weave it into cloth. All the ashrams in the neighbourhood here are devoted to khadi activity. They have done some work though not so much as they might have done.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 25-5-1930

284. *FOREWORD TO "PUBLIC FINANCE AND OUR POVERTY"*

KARADI,
April 20, 1930

The booklet is a reprint, revised where necessary by the author, of the chapters written by Professor Kumarappa and published in *Young India.* They examine the economic policy of the British Government and its effect upon the masses. They are therefore very seasonable. The value of the chapters is enhanced by the addition of a very careful and copious index prepared by the author himself. I commend the booklet both to the Indian as also the Western readers.

M. K. GANDHI

Public Finance and Our Poverty; also G.N. 10085

285. *MY NOTES*

BEWARE

When a great struggle is on, generous people empty out their pockets and look upon everyone as a public worker. At such times, traitors see their opportunity and rob everyone wherever they can. Anyone who wants to sells swadeshi salt; anyone who wants to collects funds. People, being gullible, pay up. At such a time, it is necessary for people to be on their guard. No one should make any contributions unless they know those making collections and never without getting a receipt. The receipt should bear the signature of an office-holder of the Congress and the stamp of that office. The committees should maintain accounts of every pie and publish the names of the donors. The receipt books should be numbered and the rule should be that only these should be used for acknowledging contributions. And then accounts should be maintained accordingly. Despite such care, however, some misappropriation is bound to be there. A thief has a hundred prying eyes; a banker can glance only now and then. Nevertheless, it is the duty of all public institutions to be as much on their guard as possible.

Mill-hands of Ahmedabad

The mill-hands of Ahmedabad are contributing their share in the *yajna* of swaraj in an excellent manner. Many of them wear khadi. Their children, if not they themselves, spin and they are picketing the liquor booths. Some have also offered civil disobedience against the salt law. As a result of the movement for prohibition, the income from liquor has greatly diminished. In 1928-29 the average sale of six liquor booths in Ahmedabad was 231½ gallons. The sale this year has been 45½ gallons. In other words, there has been a decrease of over 81 per cent, that is, only 19 per cent is left. If this movement continues, we may hope that the liquor booths in Ahmedabad, at least, will have to close down. Labourers as well as the organizers deserve to be congratulated on such good results. Labourers alone act as pickets before liquor booths and it may be said that this is done in an ideal manner. Perfect peace has been maintained. If other labourers follow the example of these, their incomes will at once be doubled as money saved is money earned. Besides there is the added gain that homes will become more peaceful.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-4-1930

286. *MESSAGE TO PEOPLE OF DHOLERA AND VIRAMGAM*

The reports from places around Dholera and Viramgam are becoming intolerable. The barbarous atrocities which are said to have been perpetrated there make one shudder. Those who have sent in the reports should be careful and be prepared to substantiate them. The inhuman atrocities which have been described are not supposed to have been perpetrated secretly but openly in public. I hope the accounts are untrue. However, if they are true, there are satyagrahi measures more severe than the ones that are being adopted at present. Through them these inhuman acts could certainly be prevented. Those on whom these indignities have been inflicted should not be afraid. I am eager to go to that area. And, if these atrocities do not cease, God willing, I shall go and suggest ways of preventing them. I assure them that although I am trying to cope with the work in Surat district, my mind is occupied with the Dholera and Viramgam events.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 20-4-1930

287. CALCUTTA AND KARACHI

The news from Calcutta and Karachi is shocking. Only time will show how much of it is true. Newspapers contain so much falsehood that it becomes difficult to get at the truth. A regime given to violence always needs to be sustained through villainy. Who does not know that at the time of the Bardoli Satyagraha false rumours were spread concerning the activities of satyagrahis? Do I not have experience of the lies that have been spread about me? Nevertheless, there would seem to be some truth in the attack on us. Some Indians, whoever they may be, have caused harm to life and property. They have caused harm to the movement and put me in an awkward position. Such incidents stand in the way of the service which the people expect from me. It is a painful thing. Such incidents agitate me. That is my temperament, so how can I prevent it?

But my path is straight. Whatever happens, I cannot stop the struggle. I cannot gauge my non-violence. I go on working in faith. All will be well if untainted non-violence is at work. Nothing but good will result from the steps which are being taken.

There is only one path and one duty for the readers of *Navajivan*. They should work for peace wherever they go; they should not say one harsh word to anyone; they should not encourage among the people hatred for the British and for Indian officials. It is our dharma to love even the wrongdoer. We do not wish to injure even a hair on his body. We have to face greater atrocities by undergoing greater suffering.

There is a bit of good news in the reports from Calcutta and Karachi. Jairamdas has received a bullet wound in his thigh. I have not known anyone more pure-hearted than he. The intelligence he possesses and the prestige he enjoys are as great as his purity. He is a member of the Congress Working Committee; he is the secretary of the committee for the boycott of foreign cloth. He is a staunch votary of non-violence. In this struggle, the sacrifice of such persons is expected. So I regard Jairamdas lucky that he was the first to receive a bullet wound. If there was a riot he surely did not go there to instigate it but rather to try and quell it. It is good that he has been injured.

It is with the blood of such Indians that the temple of swaraj will be built. If we too wish to make the final sacrifice in this *yajna*, we should cultivate Jairamdas's purity, simplicity and determination.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

288. *FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS*

I have just received a telegram from Delhi which says:

> "Dealers in foreign cloth want certain conditions to be considered with regard to the round-the-clock picketing of foreign-cloth shops. They want to be given time to cancel orders against which goods have not been received and to sell goods which they have in stock."

The question is whether such conditions can be conceded. I have sent my opinion as follows:

> "Such time certainly cannot be granted. If the traders have the faith they should rest assured that such poor merchants who have suffered a loss will be suitably compensated in swaraj. Those who are well-to-do will get no compensation. They should regard the loss that they incur on account of the goods lying in stock as a token *prayashchitta* for their past sins."

I feel that it is essential for swarajists to make things fully clear. The desperate souls who have entered the field will either triumph or perish, but even while perishing they will clarify many matters. There was not in the world a single war in which thousands did not suffer losses.

If, however, this struggle does have a peaceful ending, there would be the minimum loss with the maximum gain. But the satyagrahis must harden themselves to put up with this loss. Why should the boycott which is possible today be postponed? Where would we be if every dealer in foreign cloth asked for time? The strength of the boycott movement would be frittered away and the doors to betrayal would be opened in front, from behind and on the sides. Who would keep watch on which traders? The traders who lack faith but do not wish to practise deceit can act in the following way: They can keep their goods for the time being. If the people lose and enter into a fresh indenture of slavery, such traders will easily be able to sell their goods. They should make out lists of their goods and hand them to well-

known volunteers and get these stamped by the Congress, so that, at the proper time, if it is felt that they should be given compensation, the swaraj Government could do so. Another alternative is for them to export their goods to countries where foreign goods are sold. Anyone who wishes to do something, finds many straightforward ways of doing it. But a poor dancer will always find the courtyard uneven.

But why sympathize with the sufferings of traders? What about educated lawyers? With great difficulty we find a person like Kanaiyalal Munshi, who saw his way clear and sacrificed his legal practice and his, what in Government circles is called, "career". Other lawyers are afraid of offering civil disobedience. What if they are disbarred? These good but timid lawyers would see if they reflected a little that if all of them offered civil disobedience, no one would be disbarred. But, what if all of them do not do so? Even then what is there to fear? Why should not a sacrificing lawyer have the conviction that by making his own contribution he will bring swaraj nearer? Why cannot he have the faith that such a mighty struggle cannot but end in swaraj? Then those who were disbarred will again be called back to their practice in honour. Dr. Krause was a famous lawyer in the Transvaal. He was very nearly sent to the gallows. His legal practice was forcibly taken away from him. He, however, re-established himself with honour and not only did he regain all he had lost but his prestige increased. Many such instances could be cited. Want of faith is the most expensive thing in this struggle. If we have the least bit of self-confidence swaraj is within our grasp. Otherwise we victims of delusion shall be like the woman who is looking all over the village for the child who is in her lap.

What applies to the traders and the lawyers applies also to the students. We do not even have an idea of the full extent of our fall. And so we have not developed sufficient dislike for our miserable plight. Ignorance of our plight stands in our way.

Even so if we maintain our present progress, traders, lawyers, students, doctors and even barbers will gain courage and we shall soon secure the end we desire.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 20-4-1930

289. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 20, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have sent Chhotelal to Ahmedabad today, as I sent away Pyarelal. Retaining both of them in my service encouraged them and me in indulgence and resulted in their services being not fully utilized. I have, therefore, sent Pyarelal to Wadhwan and other places and Chhotelal to Ahmedabad to stay in the Vidyapith and elsewhere and propagate the *takli*, the spinning-wheel, etc. Let me know which women ought to remain there.

The sum of Rs. 250 which I have sent with Chhotelal was received from a Marwari gentleman. Credit it to the Satyagraha Fund.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C. W. 8102. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

290. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 20, 1930

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I had been expecting your letter. You seem to be doing good work. Is your throat all right? It would be very good indeed if Khushalbhai joined the movement. According to me, it is pure dharma to join it. Write to me from time to time and give all the details.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. JAMNADAS GANDHI
OPP. MIDDLE SCHOOL
NAVA PARA, RAJKOT
KATHIAWAR

From the original in Gujarati: C.W. 9307. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

291. LETTER TO K. M. MUNSHI

April 20, 1930

BHAISHRI MUNSHI,

I have a letter today which says:

> Shri Munshi has produced a good effect by his bold step, but he has issued a circular letter to his lawyer friends telling them that he would be able to attend to work in his chambers from 1 p.m. to 4 p.m.

There is another letter signed by seven persons, which is full of allegations against you. The signatories desire the letter to be published. I have categorically refused to do so. This is merely for your information.

Shri Mukund Malaviya sends a long letter. He says that none of them desires me to go there at present. I have seen the Congress leaders too. They also say the same thing, adding that I might visit the place after they do something which I would welcome.

For the present, therefore, I would ask you to free me from the engagement. The work here does not leave me a moment to spare. There is little need to arouse enthusiasm in Bombay. I am making this suggestion for the sake of the rest and peace that I need. You may come here and bring with you a few Congress leaders. You will spare me for the present, won't you?

Tell Lilavati that I shall expect her to make her own contribution, and a big one. If it was with her approval that you made a public reference to our old relations, I may say that those bonds were as between a father and his daughter. Imagine what expectations a father who had lost his daughter would have from her when she was found.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

[PS.]

After this was finished, I received a letter of praise also, which I must send to you. Do not return it. Tear it up.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 7513. Courtesy: K. M. Munshi

292. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

9.30 p.m., April 20, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

I have had no letter from you for two days. I am eager to know about what is happening in Viramgam and Dholera. Either write to me yourself or ask someone else to write. There seems to have been an actual revolt in Chittagong. May everything be as Rama wills.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 11483

293. INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"

JALALPUR,
April 20, 1930

I see that several friends expect me to be in Bombay next week. In reply to Sjt. Munshi's pressing invitation I said weather permitting I might go to Bombay next week. But I see that my presence in these parts is urgent and letters from several friends in Bombay tell me that I should not move from Gujarat till Bombay is better prepared. Of enthusiasm, so far as newspapers can tell me, there is no lack in Bombay. Of discipline I do not know. At the present moment what we want is the rigidest discipline, more rigid than in an army made to wage bloody warfare, side by side with the utmost defiance of the selected laws and consistently with the principles of non-violence and truth. There must be continued and continuous constructive work as if swaraj was to be established today. How far this is being done in Bombay I do not know. I, therefore, advise friends in Bombay not to be hasty in asking me to come there. If Gujarat alone responds to the work put before the men and women, it would be a great thing and a large step towards swaraj.

I would, therefore, ask friends in Bombay not to build upon my coming there in the near future but I would go there with the greatest pleasure as soon as I can free myself from Gujarat and when Bombay is really ready,

After all the struggle is becoming a mass movement. Nobody's presence is therefore indispensable. What is most necessary is consolidation of the present phenomenal manifestation into dynamic energy of a purely non-violent type. That is possible. The world has had ample demonstration since the 12th of March last.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-4-1930

294. ADVICE TO FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS

April 20, 1930

Gandhiji said he feared that wherever foreign-cloth boycott can be organized perfectly non-violently, it cannot be suspended upon any undertaking save that of refraining from selling.

This is no time for bargaining. Those who have faith in this and therefore in swaraj coming as the certain result of the present movement and who believe that it is good to stop buying foreign cloth should stop altogether and not for a certain period. But for those who have no faith and would stop selling foreign cloth in obedience to rising public opinion against it, I would make the following suggestion. Instead of asking for suspension of picketing, let them suspend selling of foreign cloth which they will resume if the movement fizzles out. If it succeeds they will find a market for their wares elsewhere. If they suffer loss and are too poor to bear it they should trust the national Government of the future to give them reasonable compensation. I would, however, warn those who would undertake to picket against using the slightest violence either directly or indirectly. That was one of the reasons why I conceived the idea of confining picketing of foreign-cloth shops and liquor shops to women but where women are not ready and men have confidence in their ability to conduct non-violent picketing, they should certainly take it up.

The Bombay Chronicle, 21-4-1930

295. THE BLACK REGIME

KARADI,
April 21, 1930

The past week has not been one of unmixed joy. It has seen disturbances in Calcutta[1] and Karachi. And now comes the sad news from Chittagong. It shows that in spite of the striking demonstration of non-violence all over the country, there is still violence in the air and cities are the storehouses of it. Calcutta and Karachi can be distinguished from Chittagong. The first two appear to have been mad outbursts of the moment. Chittagong seems to be a deliberate planning. Whatever they were, they are most regrettable and interfere with the growth of the movement which is otherwise shaping itself marvellously well and gaining fresh momentum from day to day. I can only appeal to those who believe in violence not to disturb the free flow of the non-violent demonstration. Whether they listen or not, this movement will go on. Violence is bound to impede the progress towards independence. I am unable to demonstrate how it will impede. Those who survive the struggle will know how.

Meanwhile satyagrahis must continue their activity with redoubled vigour. We must deal with the double-edged violence ranged against us. For me popular violence is as much an obstruction in our path as the Government violence. Indeed I can combat the Government violence more successfully than the popular. For one thing, in combating the latter, I should not have the same support as in the former. Then again the motive in the latter being as honourable as that of the satyagrahis, the method to be employed has to be somewhat different from that employed in regard to the Government violence.

I hope that as in Karachi, so in Calcutta and Chittagong, there were satyagrahis attempting to check mob violence. Brave young Dattatreya Mane who is said to have known nothing of satyagraha and being an athlete had merely gone to assist in keeping order, received a fatal bullet wound. Meghraj Revachand, 18 years old, has also succumbed to a bullet wound. Thus did

[1] There had been disturbances in Calcutta during the hartal observed on April 19 following the arrests of Jawaharlal Nehru and J. M. Sen Gupta.

seven men, including Jairamdas, receive bullet wounds. Jairamdas's injury gave me unmixed joy. It is the injury to leaders that would bring relief. The law of sacrifice is uniform throughout the world. To be effective it demands the sacrifice of the bravest and the most spotless. And Jairamdas is of the bravest and the cleanest. I therefore could not help wiring when I heard of Jairamdas's wound that a wound in the thigh was better than prison and wound in the heart better still.[1]

Whilst therefore I tender my sympathy to the parents of the two brave lads who lost their lives, my inmost desire is to congratulate them for the finished sacrifices of their sons, if they would accept my congratulations. A warrior's death is never a matter for sorrow, still less that of a satyagrahi warrior. One of the lessons that a nation yearning for freedom needs to learn is to shed several fears; fear of losing title, wealth, position, fear of imprisonment, of bodily injury and lastly death.

Accounts from all over India tell the same tale of growing fearlessness. The Bihar letter published elsewhere makes soul-stirring reading.

One thing we must get rid of quickly. Lawless physical violence must be stopped even if it is to be through forcing the Government to use its guns. And this can be done non-violently.

I give only one out of several samples of indecent assaults by the police at Viramgam:

STATEMENT OF ANIRUDDHA VYAS, A STUDENT OF DAKSHINAMURTI VIDYARTHI BHAVAN, VOLUNTEER NO. 35/3:

> I with a number of my companions got down from the 6.30 evening Mail with bags of salt at the Viramgam railway station, when from 8 to 10 policemen surrounded us. To save the salt from being seized I sat down with the bag of salt on the ground, clinging to it with all my might.
>
> All efforts of the police to make me get up having failed, one of them thrust apart my legs and squeezed my private parts with his hands so as to compel me to get up. But the weight of my body and the push and the pull of the surrounding police disengaged the parts and I fell down. I was then pulled up again. But I bent double and held the salt bag tight under my crossed arms. A policeman thereupon straightened my back by poking it with his foot which caused me intense pain. Then two policemen gave a violent jerk, twisted my fingers as they liked and loosened my arms and wrested the bag from me. I was then let go, one officer taking my name and number.

[1] *Vide* "Telegram to N. R. Malkani" p. 282.

Mahadev Desai tells me that these assaults have stopped for the time being. But there is no knowing that they have stopped for ever and there certainly is not the slightest ground for supposing that they will not occur in other parts of Gujarat or of other provinces. In Broach the things are growing from bad to worse. A bullet wound is any day better than these barbarous, unnecessary, unprovoked assaults. The person of a citizen must be held inviolate. It can only be touched to arrest or to prevent violence, never in the manner being done now. It is a prostitution even of the salt laws to use them against civil resisters. The povisions were designed to deal (even then unjustly as I hold) with surreptitious breaches of its new provisions, never to deal with masses of men openly defying them. If the Government do not stop this brutal violation of the body, they will find the satyagrahis presently compelling them to use the guns against them. I do not want this to happen. But if the Government will have it, I should have no hesitation whatsoever in giving them the opportunity. They must not physically interfere with the bands of civil resisters manufacturing or vending salt, they may arrest every man, woman and child if they wish. If they will neither arrest, nor declare salt free, they will find people marching to be shot rather than be tortured.

It is true that the barbarous interference with the body and the indecent assaults are a heritage of the past. This Government has by its tacit approval given it a currency which it never had before.

As I am writing these notes two volunteers have brought me salt said to have been poisoned. Not only do the authorities wantonly destroy salt and salt pans now: they are said to poison the sources of salt manufacture. If the report is true, the blackness of the regime becomes blacker still. And all this against a people who without hurting anybody are seeking to gain freedom through self-suffering!

Young India, 24-4-1930

296. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 21, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I hate writing letters in pencil. But I am writing this whilst I am waiting at the prayer ground for the others to come. It is just nearing 4.20.

You must speak to Premabai with all the love you can command and she will listen. She is a capable girl and a good girl.

She wants to do the best she can. She is aware of her shortcomings. All she needs is gentle helping. I am writing to her too.

How is Reginald getting on now?

I am[1] moving from place to place and concentrating on spinning. Boycott of foreign cloth will be a trap without spinning. And *takli* is the only thing to make spinning universal. You will therefore do there whatever is possible to manufacture more khadi there.

I am sending you a cutting regarding yourself.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

The ink portion was written after prayer.

From the original: C.W. 5393. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9627

297. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Monday Night [April 21, 1930][2]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

It is 11.15 p.m. now. I will not, therefore, write much. There is a great rush of work these days.

The women who have remained there are also helping the movement. I have often explained that the Ashram activities and this movement are not unconnected with each other. For anyone who has given up fear of jail, it is the same whether they are in jail or at home. We should avail ourselves of whatever opportunities of service we get unsought. If women's help is sought for picketing, all the women may of course come forward. When nobody else remains to carry on the work and fear rules all, let the Ashram women come out and lay down their lives to the last of them. Just now, when many women are coming forward for picketing, you should do whatever work falls to your lot.

I have told Kusum that the inmates of the Ashram cannot be divided into two classes. If she joins as from the Ashram, she must sign the pledge. If she does not sign the pledge and yet wishes to remain in the Ashram, she can observe the other rules and remain there. Hearing this, on the very day on which the

[1] Up to here the letter is in pencil.

[2] The date is from *Bapuna Patro–6: G.S. Gangabehnne*.

women came here she went to consult her mother. I do not know what happened after that.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8746. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

298. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

KARADI,
Midnight, Monday, April 21, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Pyarelal has arrived. Your statement was not found useful, you will see why when you read my article. What is happening in Broach and what has happened in Bihar have overshadowed the incidents in Dholera and Viramgam. Now that the repression at these places has stopped, why rake up the matter? What little you may have mentioned in your weekly account may remain. A part of your statement was, I felt, fit to be dropped, but I have no time just now to explain why. I wrote the whole day, after which I went to the Navsari hospital to see someone who had been seriously injured while cutting toddy-palms and has now only a few breaths left. After my return from there, I have been at the spinning *yajna* and dictating this. I am sending Pyarelal to Broach. You also seem to have sent someone there. To err on the safe side, I am sending Pyarelal. The services of Chhotelal, who was sent there yesterday, will mainly be utilized for khadi propaganda work. I have explained this to Kaka. However, Chhotelal is known for his ability to attend to a number of jobs at the same time and you may take from him any work you wish to. I have been thinking how to give the last instructions. I am not sure, but I may be able to finalize them in a day or two. Tomorrow afternoon I shall reach Surat and be there till the evening, when I will return.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I am sending all the affidavits. The bundle of papers for *Young India* has been sent direct. I have included in my article the translation of one affidavit. Pyarelal's translations are incomplete and faulty. I have dropped the idea of sending Pyarelal.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16824

299. INTERVIEW TO ASSOCIATED PRESS OF INDIA

NAVSARI,
April 21, 1930

Chittagong news makes sad reading. It shows that there is a large or small body of men in Bengal who do not believe in non-violence whether as a policy or as a creed. That there were such people all over India I knew but I had hoped that they would give non-violence a chance. If Chittagong is an indication and not an isolated act, as I believe Calcutta and Karachi acts to be, it is a serious affair. But, however serious the situation becomes, there can be no suspension of the fight. There can be no retracing. I observe that the Viceroy has answered the Chittagong disturbance with the exercise of his extraordinary powers. That was only to be expected. So long as the British people are determined to impose their rule upon unwilling people, so long must they rule in reality without law. We in India easily delude ourselves into the belief that we have duly constituted legislatures. Presently there will be no one remaining under any such delusion. Civil resisters must, therefore, fight an unequal struggle—the violence of the Government and the violence of those among us who have no faith in non-violence. Satyagrahis, if they are true to their creed, will either come out victorious or will be ground to atoms between the two mills.

The Bombay Chronicle, 22-4-1930

300. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

April 22, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

I am not getting from anywhere a true account of what is happening in Bengal. I do not even know how your organization[1] is working. Instruct someone to keep me posted with correct information.

[1] Presumably, the Ashram at Sodepur

How is your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

After writing this I saw the telegram regarding the fast. I have wired and am awaiting the reply.

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1617

301. LETTER TO HEMPRABHA DAS GUPTA

April 22, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

There has been no letter from you for several days. I have no idea how long I shall be allowed to remain free. But you must keep writing to me. After I am arrested we shall see.

How is your health now?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1666

302. SPEECH TO HEADMEN, SURAT

April 22, 1930

Remember that you have pledged your services in the cause of the country. Your duty now is to work whole-heartedly for the swaraj "Government".

If you have resigned your jobs unwillingly I consider that you are doing the greatest disservice to your country. If you have faith in yourselves and, therefore, in swaraj, then alone I invite you to join this fight.

Do not purchase Government salt. Do not wear foreign clothes and shun liquor. You are taking a step towards swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-4-1930

303. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 22, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

What you write about Sharja[1] is correct.

The accompanying letter[2] is for Gangabehn. Read it and give it to her. I have no time to write more. It will be 11.30 p.m. in a few seconds.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8103. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

304. LETTER TO HARIBHAU UPADHYAYA

April 23, 1930

BHAI HARIBHAU,

I have your letter. After all of you are arrested, I will write for *Young India* and *Navajivan* if I am not arrested by then. There is some matter even today on which I must write in *Navajivan*. I will sit down and write out something. Ramnarayan has expressed a desire to go there and I have also given my consent. The movement is certainly gathering momentum. If we can keep up the present tempo, I am confident that we shall be able to gain our object in quite a short time.

I wrote this yesterday and was then called away. I got your wire at Navsari. I got your letter, too. I have used that letter itself and written something for *Hindi Navajivan*.[3] If I can write something for the next issue of *Young India*, I will do so. Take care of your health.

Perhaps by next week I shall have been arrested.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a copy of the Gujarati: C.W. 6072. Courtesy: Haribhau Upadhyaya

[1] Sharja Apte wanted to live independently of her husband and do some work.

[2] No letter of this date to Gangabehn Vaidya is available. It is likely the reference is to the letter of April 21.

[3] *Vide* "Salaaming or Flogging?", p. 318.

305. LETTER TO BRIJKRISHNA CHANDIWALA

KARADI,
April 23, 1930

CHI. BRIJKRISHNA,

Your letter. What purpose can be served by calling you here? I know the conditions in Delhi well enough. Do as much as you can. Increase the production of khadi in and around Delhi if possible. Make bamboo *taklis*, teach others to make them and organize collection of yarn. Meet Nair and do whatever is possible. I see no harm in making the Ashram permanent. But if you have faith in our pledge, you may be sure that the Ashram will automatically become permanent because this struggle is going to be decisive and the Ashram is bound to exist till the establishment of swaraj. And after attaining swaraj all the ashrams will, as a matter of course, become a permanent feature.

It is very good that Mother and others have taken to khaddar. How is your health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 2381

306. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 23, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Herewith is a cheque, along with its particulars. Send the acknowledgment to Allahabad.

It is 10 p.m. just now.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8104. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

307. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

April 23, 1930

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS JERAJANI,

There have been, from time to time, several changes in the khadi propaganda movement and consequently in your work. In my view, those changes were necessary in the interest of the khadi movement and of *Daridranarayana* though, at the time those changes were made, they did not immediately appeal to reason. Our experience so far has been that ultimately all those changes stood the test of reason too, and were justified by the results. The change which I am now suggesting may, I think, seem much more risky than the earlier changes. However, I believe that the change is as essential in the interest of khadi as it may seem dangerous to khadi lovers on a superficial view. Anyone who has properly understood the rationale of boycott of foreign cloth will immediately see the necessity for this change. We do not have in stock enough khadi to meet the present demand. The demand is daily increasing and we are not in a position to produce sufficient khadi to meet it. Hence, if we do not somehow increase our capacity to produce khadi, the supply of khadi would be inadequate. It can be proved with mathematical certainty that, if that happens, the boycott of foreign cloth will fail. The new suggestion which I, therefore, wish to make is as under:

As quickly as feasible, that is, immediately in a day or two, you should inform the Bombay public that no one who wishes to buy khadi will get it for money but that it will be sold only against hand-spun yarn. This is the only way to make it clear to people that khadi is not a mere commodity, like foreign cloth, which can be bought for money, but that it is a symbol of the nation's strength and aspiration. According to the science of khadi, as long as cotton is available there can be no scarcity of khadi. However, this requires that the people should be imbued with a zeal for spinning. Khadi will have no meaning if, at this critical time and when we are about to win swaraj, we cannot make the zeal for spinning universal. Moreover, it is not possible for us at short notice to produce ten million pounds of khadi. Our duty, therefore, is straight and simple. If the people have real love

for khadi, they ought to spin. My suggestion is not in fact as extreme as it may appear on a superficial view, since the prospective buyer of khadi is required to produce yarn not spun by himself but by any person. Hence a resident of Bombay may procure hand-spun yarn in any way he chooses. He may spin it himself or get it spun by members of his family or his poor neighbours or by the residents of any village in India. The Bombay man will have to take some trouble, of course. If he does not take even that much of trouble and has in consequence to go without khadi, it would be best for himself, for others and for the cause of khadi that he should go without it. You may think and decide for yourself what the quality of the yarn should be and what articles can still be sold for cash. I hope that the residents of Bombay, who have been making a great contribution to the present struggle, will understand this simple suggestion and take the little trouble they are being asked to, for obtaining the khadi they require.

Blessings from

BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9772

308. HINDU-MUSLIM UNITY

As so much misrepresentation is being made about my attitude on the communal question, without entering into any argument I would state my position as clearly as my knowledge of the language would enable me to do.

1. The views that I have held for the last 40 years remain unchanged.

2. I hold that there is no swaraj without communal unity as without several other things I have repeatedly mentioned.

3. The present campaign is not designed to establish independence but to arm the people with the power to do so.

4. When the power has been generated and the time has come for the establishment of independence, Mussalmans and all other minorities will have to be placated. If they are not, there must inevitably be civil war. But I live in the hope that if we succeed in generating the power, our differences and distrust will vanish. These are due to our weakness. When we have the power from within we shall shed our weakness.

5. The Nehru Constitution having lapsed the communal solution has naturally lapsed. The Lahore Congress resolution

mentions in so many words that the communal solution not having given satisfaction either to the Sikhs or the Mussalmans the question might have to be reconsidered so as to give satisfaction to all the parties concerned.

6. The only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern the country. This is no academic belief. The solution is attended with no risk. For under a free government the real power will be held by the people. That demonstration is being given now. The mightiest government will be rendered absolutely impotent if the people realizing their power use it in a disciplined manner and for the common good. In Gujarat the people are within reach of success if the strength and cohesion they are showing today are genuine and not derived from blind faith. It must be remembered that only an infinitesimal proportion of the people can hold positions of responsibility and power in a country's government. Experience all the world over shows that the real power and wealth are possessed by people outside the group that hold the reins of Government. We in India hanker after power, because our people are ignorant and will be exploited. The power wielded today is corrupt to the core. Independence achieved through non-violent power must by its very nature reduce corruption to a minimum. It is thus my practical wisdom which has suggested the solutions. The fact is that we are today unable to visualize anything contrary to our experience present or inherited. Yet what can be clearer than that an independent India must be something quite outside our present experience? It is of course open to the critic to say that both non-violence and independent India achieved through it exist only in my imagination. My retort then is that, God willing, I shall not be found surviving in an India that remains slave in spite of this struggle or under so-called independence achieved through violent means. I admit that under an independence violently achieved, minorities have to take care of themselves. But this, thanks to the existing Government, they do not need much exertion to do. For the Government exists by playing one community against the other or others. The difficulty of my critics arises from their ignoring or doubting my creed. I remain unmoved, because they won't be able long to ignore or doubt my creed.

7. My so-called inconsistencies are no inconsistencies to those who understand, be it only intellectually, the implications of non-violence.

8. There can be nothing to suspect in resisting the salt tax or the drink and drug devil or the inroads of foreign cloth through khadi. I therefore do not hesitate to invite all to take their due share in the campaign. Those who will not, simply deny to themselves the opportunity of gaining the power of resistance to evil under every conceivable circumstance.

9. I have embarked upon civil disobedience without any reservation save that of non-violence for the simple and peremptory reason that non-violence itself was in danger of being worsted in the fight. I could not possibly contemplate such a calamity with equanimity. I saw at once that if non-violence was a potent force, it must be able to make its way even through violence and finally supersede it.

Young India, 24-4-1930

309. MASS ACTION

A friend having seen the wonderful manifestation of mass action sends the following extracts from an aritcle by Sir Martin Conway in *Commerce and Finance*:[1]

> What any generation can accomplish in faith and growth is little compared with what has been accomplished for them by the generations that have gone before. This is evident enough in the case of material possessions and the great treasure of the world's art, but it is still more true for the world's ideals. It is those that are the most precious of all its belongings, and for the preservation of these it has, not individuals, however great, but crowds to thank. For let me declare again that *it is in crowds that ideals reside*. It is they that incorporate them and they that *transmit them*. An individual may invent an ideal, but unless he can get it incorporated in a crowd it is barren of effect, and dies with him. Rail against the crowd as we may for its intolerance, its pride, its fickleness, its lack of measure and all the other shortcomings of which we are only too easily aware, it yet remains true that *upon crowds our spiritual life depends*, that from them we draw our enthusiasms, and to them we owe those flames of love and passion and glory which make the life of each individual the splendid opportunity that it is.
>
> A crowd that has never come physically together gains greatly in vigour if it can be in whole or even in part embodied. If it can be seen it will bring to bear on outsiders that attractiveness which every embodied crowd possesses. If it can see itself it will grow hot. . . .

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> An even more rudimentary application of the principle of crowd-attractiveness is the organization of processions. The longer they can be made the more useful they are, and the more they attract and impose upon the outside . . . . An English movement dates its success from the day when it can fill the Albert Hall with a shouting throng; and it is an obvious fact that one successful, enthusiastic Albert Hall gathering is worth more for purposes of propaganda than a score of smaller gatherings in unimportant halls and chapels.

The use at the present moment of this article consists in the help it gives one in measuring the progress of non-violence. An idea whether good or bad can be said to have gained ground only when it strikes the imagination of masses of men. Whatever crowds do is not necessarily always good. Nor is it true to say, as some have said, that non-violence is necessarily confined to individuals. On the contrary the test of the sincerity of one's belief in non-violence lies in the measure of its acceptance by masses of men. If non-violence could not affect masses of mankind, it is a waste of effort for individuals to cultivate it. I hold it to be the greatest gift of God. And all God's gifts are the common heritage of His creation and not a monopoly of cloistered monks or nuns. They may specialize in non-violence, they may teach us its wonderful effects, but if their discoveries and their claims are sound they must be adaptable by masses. If truth be not a monopoly of the few why should non-violence, its counterpart, be otherwise? My reverent study of the scriptures of the world has led me to the belief that all register emphatic and unequivocal testimony in favour of non-violence being practised by all not merely singly but collectively as well. In all humility I have often felt that having no axes to grind and having by nature a detached mind, I give a truer interpretation of the Hindu, Christian, Islamic or other scriptures. For this humble claim I anticipate the forgiveness of Sanatanists, Christians and Mussalmans.

Young India, 24-4-1930

310. NECESSITY OF PURITY IN ACCOUNT-KEEPING

Simple people are in pure faith pouring in their copper, silver and paper coins into the bowls of volunteers who sell salt or otherwise collect money. No unauthorized volunteers should make collections or sell salt at fancy prices. Accounts should be accurately kept and frequently published. Books should be weekly examined by auditors. It will be well if monied men of proved honesty were to constitute themselves treasurers to take charge of and collect funds and work in full co-operation with Congress volunteers. Active workers are being quickly picked up and it may be difficult before long for local organizations to hold funds and keep proper accounts. As it is, the public have everywhere taken over the financing of the movement. Let it be done responsibly and methodically.

Young India, 24-4-1930

311. LIQUOR PICKETING

A Parsi correspondent writes as follows:[1]

> If there is negligible profit in liquor trade, the Parsis will leave it at once and join you gladly in all your undertakings. Can you find out any means and ways of making this profit of liquor shops negligible? It is a fact that these shop-keepers make a good profit by (a) short sale (b) adulteration, and keep the staff of the Excise Dept. well in hand by paying them their dues.
>
> The only suggestion I can think of for stopping this middleman's profit is to insist on Government to first introduce the 'bottle system', as is introduced in Indore and Gwalior States. . . .
>
> The second point is that the liquor now distilled in Nasik is quite unfit for human consumption. . . . They should distil liquor of one uniform strength (say 35° to 45°) and bottle it at Nasik and then distribute it for sale. . . .
>
> The third point I have to suggest is that it is rather difficult to introduce peaceful picketing of liquor shops. Why not open magic lantern shows or cinema shows in every big town and a few big villages

[1] Only extracts are reproduced here.

> and show such pictures to the public pointing out the harm and disadvantages of liquor? . . . Such temperance movements will have better effect. Government cannot stop such shows and this will lead to temperance. . . .

This is a sincere letter. It is a frank admission that if the Parsis can be persuaded to give up the drink traffic, the solution of the drink problem, at least up to Bombay if not throughout India, becomes simple. But the remedy suggested by the correspondent will not answer the purpose. No matter what is done the traffic all the world over bears an immoral taint. The only true remedy is therefore prohibition. Even as thieving cannot be regulated save by prohibition so may drink traffic not be regulated save by prohibition.

There is no doubt danger of violence in picketing. Hence my appeal to the sisters of India to take charge of it. If only the educated few will shed their fear and disbelief the other sisters are sure to follow.

And as to the Parsi liquor dealers, surely it is not beyond the capacity of Parsi philanthropists to take them in hand and find for them a suitable employment. Parsi leaders can create an atmosphere against the traffic and thus make picketing easy. Anyway I should be surprised if during this wave of self-purification the traffic is not swept away. It needs but a little sustained effort on the part of the sisters. In six canteens of Ahmedabad frequented by the labouring population, thanks to the quiet picketing done by the Labour Union, the traffic has fallen to 19 per cent. Though I have not accurate figures as yet, the traffic in the area covered by Mithubai's activity has also fallen considerably. And I know that in both these places picketing has been absolutely non-violent. Thousands in Surat are said to have voluntarily come forward to forswear drink.

The mention of Mithubai Petit reminds me of two other Parsis who are working in the same field. Dhanjishah known as Darbari Sadhu or Bhikshu or Sannyasi and who has now gone to jail under the Salt Act has been for years working in the village where I am writing these notes. It was partly in his honour that I decided to shift from Dandi to Karadi. The other is Baheram Mehta, a non-co-operating graduate. He was picked up by the police in Olpad, because he was respected and loved by the people. I need not mention the four grand-daughters of the G.O.M. who have been for years unassumingly serving the cause with a single-mindedness worthy of their noble-hearted grandfather. I can name several other Parsis who are also selflessly help-

dealers will themselves not repel the appeal of their sisters. The liquor traffic like the salt tax is doomed.

Young India, 24-4-1930

312. HOW TO DO THE PICKETING

1. At least ten women are required for picketing a liquor or foreign-cloth shop. They must choose a leader from among themselves.

2. They should all first go in a deputation to the dealer and appeal to him to desist from carrying on the traffic and present him with leaflets setting forth facts and figures regarding drink or foreign cloth as the case may be. Needless to say the leaflets should be in the language understood by the dealer.

3. If the dealer refuses to suspend traffic, the volunteers should guard the shop leaving the passage free and make a personal appeal to the would-be purchasers.

4. The volunteers should carry banners or light boards bearing warnings in bold letters against buying foreign cloth or indulging in intoxicating drinks, as the case may be.

5. Volunteers should be as far as possible in uniforms.

6. Volunteers should at frequent intervals sing suitable *bhajans* bearing on the subject.

7. Volunteers should prevent compulsion or interference by men.

8. On no account should vulgarity, abuse, threat or unbecoming language be used.

9. The appeal must always be to the head and the heart, never to fear of force.

10. Men should on no account congregate near the place of picketing nor block the traffic. But they should carry on propaganda generally through the area against foreign cloth and drink. They should help and organize processions of women to parade through the area carrying the message of temperance and khadi and the necessity of boycott of drink and foreign cloth.

11. There should be at the back of these picketing units a network of organization for spreading the message of the *takli* and the charkha and thinking out new leaflets and new lines of propaganda.

12. There should be an absolutely accurate and systematic account of all receipts and expenditure. This should be periodically audited. This again should be done by men under the super-

vision of women. The whole scheme presupposes on the part of men a genuine respect for women and sincere desire for their rise.

Young India, 24-4-1930

313. OUR MILLS AND FOREIGN-CLOTH BOYCOTT

Foreign-cloth boycott is coming, if we will do our duty and tax ourselves to understand its purpose and the conditions of success. I must not at present adduce reasons for the propositions set forth below. They have been often argued in these columns. I am having the figures prepared for reproduction. But for the present I give my conclusions for those who are interested in them. They are arrived at dispassionately and after due consideration of every factor and every argument for and against.

1. It is impossible for the indigenous mills to cope with the deficiency to be created by a complete boycott within the time we expect it to come to fruition.

2. All the mills situated in India are not swadeshi; some of them are as foreign as the foreign Government inasmuch as they drain the wealth of the country away from it. They are close preserves for Europeans only employing Indian labour.

3. The majority of swadeshi mills will not work for the national benefit only or even predominantly.

4. Even when they will, they can be crushed by the Government in a variety of ways.

5. The majority will not resist the temptation to exploit the present favourable times.

6. Many mills use foreign yarn for weaving, especially for borders.

7. We can only use them by not counting upon them to replace the cloth boycotted and by putting them upon their own resources and honour.

8. This last we can do only if we can replace the cloth boycotted through cloth not manufactured in our mills. This can only be khadi.

9. An unlimited quantity of khadi can be manufactured without the slightest difficulty inside of one month if the spirit of khadi and the will to manufacture it can be created.

10. Skilled weavers are to be found all over India. The only problem therefore is that of spinning.

11. Spinning and the antecedent processes can be learnt inside of one week by those who have the will and the industry.

12. India produces more than enough cotton for all her requirements.

13. Therefore all those who work for boycott of foreign cloth should concentrate on khadi production through spinning. This does not mean boycott of swadeshi mill-cloth but it means an intelligent recognition of the fact that the mills do not need any effort for selling their cloth. The boycott movement sufficiently helps them by removing foreign cloth which competes with them and stifles them as it had suppressed the spinning-wheel. To do more for the mills than procure boycott of foreign cloth will be to harm khadi.

Mill-owners can, if they will, help boycott through khadi by publishing the list of those mills which are owned, controlled and managed by Indians, which use no foreign yarn at all in weaving, and which will not manufacture cloth corresponding to khadi, will not use the name khadi or the wheel on their labels and will not inflate prices.

I am convinced that those who merely carry on boycott propaganda without insisting on boycotters contributing towards khadi production by themselves spinning or procuring spinners and who talk loosely of swadeshi, retard the boycott movement if they do not actually harm it. Boycotters must not stray away from their path even though for the moment they are unable to satisfy the demand for khadi. Let them know that that very moment is the one most propitious for khadi production. Necessity is the mother of invention. It knows no law, for it invents new laws. They need not worry if people refuse to give up foreign cloth if they are also called upon to spin. This restraint will truly push forward the boycott movement. It is no empty formula. Just as we want swaraj not to punish Englishmen but because we cannot live without it, so also we need boycott of foreign cloth not to punish Englishmen but to bring work and therefore food through the wheel to the starving millions.

Young India, 24-4-1930

314. *BOYCOTT THROUGH TAKLI*

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, having been for years interested in co-operative banking and being a khadi expert in Andhra, may be presumed to know his figures. He makes the calculation that five million charkhas working for five hours daily can spin enough yarn to replace the whole of foreign cloth to be boycotted. He thinks that there are already that number of wheels lying in India's homes. But we will take some time to unearth these wheels and make them work. New wheels we cannot make fast enough to meet the demand that a spinning atmosphere will create. The wheel will again require some capital, be it ever so little. When we think of crores of people, even the capital of one rupee per head mounts up to crores. We want to work with as little capital as possible. We want to teach spinning to the largest number available as quickly as possible. This can be done only through the *takli*. If the average output of a wheel be 300 yards per hour, that of the *takli* will be 100. Therefore to manufacture the amount of yarn that five million wheels will spin, we require *taklis* to work. And if the workers would spin not five but only fifteen million one hour, we need seventy-five million *taklis* to work. Seventy-five million is one fourth the total population of India.

Our disbelief makes our heads turn giddy to think of eight crores of people working for one hour per day for the nation. But if there be true national consciousness there is nothing extra-ordinary about one in every four inhabitants of India giving one hour per day as the price of deliverance.

Be that as it may, let workers take up the *takli* in faith. Let them not think of the steel *takli* which was invented by Maganlal Gandhi for the city people. If there was an immediate demand for eight crores of steel *taklis*, the cost would amount to a respectable sum, and the time required to manufacture so many would also be fairly long. We must therefore dismiss the steel *takli* from our minds. *Taklis* can be made from split bamboos and broken tiles or bad coins the size or weight of a half-anna piece. A pointed sharp knife is the only tool absolutely necessary. The point is required to bore a hole. Here are full instructions:

How to Make a Takli

1. Take a broken Mangalore tile or slate or the like and make out of it a disk the size of a pice. This can be done by gently breaking the edges and rounding them on a rough surface.

2. Punch a straight hole in it, make it slightly larger on one side.

3. Take a well-dried bamboo splinter seven inches in length. Smooth it round with a knife to the thickness of a pencil. Sharpen it from one end so as to taper it to a point the thickness of a knitting needle. Half an inch from the tapering end, make a little notch to hold the thread.

4. Insert the length so made into the side of the disk with larger circumference to the hole so as to leave half an inch at the thick end.

5. Test the *takli* by revolving it on a flat surface. If it spins like a top it is true. If it does not, you know that either the hole is not straight or is not in the centre of the disk or the tapering of the splinter is not even. It is easy to detect the error and to correct it.

The highest output of the *takli* after a week's practice has been found to be 110 yards per hour. And it takes about half an hour to make such a *takli*.

This *takli*-making is a pleasant pastime. Spinning is a positive recreation. It is the solace of the perturbed heart and a mute companion. The wheel sings to you and may therefore distract your attention. The *takli* is eloquent in its very muteness, and in that way is perhaps a fitter representative of the dumb millions. Try it and you will experience the same joy that many of us do. In any case he or she who spins adds to the wealth of the country and hastens the boycott movement and thus brings swaraj nearer.

Young India, 24-4-1930

315. FOREIGN-CLOTH DEALERS

I have given my opinion to the Press representatives on the question of foreign-cloth boycott. The nervousness of the dealers is a symptom of want of faith in the country. Why do they want terms and time if they are sure that swaraj is coming in the near future? Why will they not come in unconditionally and make it a greater certainty? All this uncertainty instead of strengthening the swaraj atmosphere, weakens it and fills peoples' minds with doubts. This movement is largely based on faith. There is nothing organically wrong with us to make us unfit for swaraj. It is our hallucination that makes us—a nation of three hundred millions—feel helpless and diffident. Let not the foreign-cloth merchants strengthen the hallucination by indefinite statements. Let them rid themselves of it and help others to do likewise. If they cannot do so, let them not ask for terms but bravely say that they will not stop their foreign-cloth trade.

To the weak and the unbelieving I make a tangible suggestion. Let them cancel all unexecuted orders. If swaraj is not attained and if they want to revert to their old occupation, no power can prevent them. Let them lock up their existing stock unless they can sell it outside India and let those who are poor rely upon the swaraj Government giving them such compensation as may be necessary. But they should make an inventory of their stock and have it certified by authorized volunteers. The wealthy merchants may not expect any compensation. The loss they may suffer will be part penance for the sin committed against the nation. Lastly, though the last is a bad suggestion, if they have no faith in the country getting swaraj, let them keep their stock and begin selling it when the popular movement has died of inanition or been suppressed by force. God forbid however that the present enthusiasm is a mere bubble or that it is capable of suppression under the severest repression. I hope therefore that whatever the result of the movement, the foreign-cloth dealers will see clearly that the terms suggested by them are harmful to the cause and that there is ample protection for them without the terms. Let them be patriotic enough to rise to the occasion and render picketing unnecessary by stopping the sale of foreign cloth of their own motion.

Young India, 24-4-1930

316. SALAAMING OR FLOGGING?

Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya writes from Ajmer:[1]

If what Shri Haribhau says is true there is plenty of scope for satyagraha in the jail. Normally it is proper for a prisoner to salaam the jailor, but if a satyagrahi does not salaam he should not be forced. If therefore force is used against someone for not salaaming it may become the duty of others also to refuse to salaam.

It is surprising that the concessions provided in several other jails to satyagrahis have been denied to satyagrahis in this jail. In my opinion of course satyagrahi prisoners should be treated the same as other prisoners. But if a satyagrahi is treated in a particular way all other satyagrahis should be similarly treated. So far as the Congress is concerned there is no difference between Pathikji or Nrisinhdasji and the President. But how can one expect justice and fair play from this Government?

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 24-4-1930

317. INTERVIEW TO "THE HINDU"

KARADI,
April 24, 1930

I broke the news of Mr. Prakasam's arrest and Dr. Pattabhi's sentence.

Yes, all prominent men are being taken away and the number is increasing.

All of you will remain free outside.

Gandhiji added after a while bursting into laughter once again, referring to Press reporters in general. I pointed out that the Government did not appear intent on touching him at present and therefore he would also be free.

Yes, I am also a journalist. We all journalists will be free.

[1] The letter is not translated. The correspondent had said that a satyagrahi, Baba Nrisinhdas, had been placed in solitary confinement for refusing to salaam the jail officials and might even be flogged.

The conversation turned to the contemplated "No Tax" campaign in Raas. Gandhiji was of the opinion that he must not come in their way if the people were ready and confident about success. He declared:

Of course, they have thought of starting after informing me and I gave my permission but they must be able to conduct the campaign themselves. If they are prepared let them do it.

The Hindu, 25-4-1930

318. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

11 p.m., April 24, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

Just one line.

How will you fare about *Young India* now that Mahadev is off? I hope you are well both in mind and body.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: C.W. 4535. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

319. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

[After *April 24, 1930*][1]

I have your letter only just now with the post that brings me the news about Mahadev.

Yes, you may take up the khadi work with Chhotelal. Ask Balkoba to write to me. He must take milk and fruit.

I am conceiving the last move[2] that must compel decisive action. But it is all in God's hands.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5385. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 5385

[1] The "news about Mahadev" presumably refers to his arrest on April 24 at Ahmedabad.

[2] The reference presumably is to the proposed raid on Dharasana Salt Depot; *vide* "Letter to Viceroy", pp. 389-93.

320. LETTER TO DOROTHY D'SEUA

CAMP KARADI,
April 25, 1930

DEAR LITTLE FRIEND,

Don't you be afraid of the doings of the processionists. They mean no harm to you whatsoever and if you believe in God why should you fear anything or anybody. However I shall do whatever may be necessary.

Yours sinceerely,
M. K. GANDHI

MISS DOROTHY D'SEUA
NO. 47 GOUGH ROAD
AGRA (U. P.)

From a photostat: G.N. 1369

321. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

April 25, 1930

MY DEAR WHITE BEARD,

Here is Manibehn also coming to you. This accession must delight your heart and Raojibhai and Co.'s. Let her be used unsparingly to wake up the women of Kheda.

Hamida[1] is working wonders in Olpad. She is a chip of the old block. God bless her.

Love.

M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9571

[1] Daughter of Abbas Tyabji

322. LETTER TO MAHADEV DESAI

April 25, 1930

CHI. MAHADEV,

Of course you have my blessings. Though I see that you had no choice but to get on the lorry, in my view you did commit an error. I am pointing it out in fact for the benefit of others, but let my criticism be for your benefit too. There was no need to forfeit the vehicle. I had thought that you would devise a method of carrying the salt by stages as they used to do in carrying Ganga water, and had very much liked the idea. Suppose that we have a camp of twenty-five men at every five miles or so. A batch of twenty-five, each man starting with five seers, would mean three maunds and five seers. The first batch would hand over the stock at the second camp and stay there. The second batch would deliver the stock at the third camp and return to its camp, after which the first batch would proceed to Dholera. This would have provided very good training and it would have been easy to protect the salt. There was nothing to lose in this arrangement. The method which you followed involved the possibility of losing the cart and the certainty of losing the lorry. Moreover, it required your hiding something, and the success of your plan depended on your ability to do so. We should, of course, have nothing to hide. Any method in which we have to hide something requires the cunning needed in the ordinary kind of war, which we ought not to practise. Moreover, for taking possession of the salt carried in a lorry, the police would be required to use much greater force. We should not needlessly compel them to do so. Hence, though your plan certainly required much courage and no less intelligence, it was not based on perfect non-violence. But in the prevailing atmosphere, I do not think you would have realized this by yourself. Who knows where I myself may be going wrong? All I can say is that I never take a single step without thinking carefully and that I get time to do that. My thinking nowadays takes the form exclusively of prayer. I do not use my reason, but look into my heart.

Swami's idea of lifting salt from Bhayander would also have involved a similar error. Dharasana is very near from where I am, but I do not let anyone approach even that. When it is ultimately decided to attempt to seize the stocks there, a pilgrim party will

start for the purpose, after giving public notice of its intention.

Please do not blame yourself or feel sorry for what you have done because of my criticism. I have written this only to help you in jail to think and understand the fine and subtle aspects of non-violence and as guidance for the future to Kaka, Narahari and others. But in any case it is good that you have been arrested. You would have had no opportunity of facing bullets and on account of excessive work you would probably have fallen ill. By the time you come out, some thousands will have lost their lives. What grace of God to the few chosen ones that they will be automatically saved. Those who die and those who survive, both classes of persons should be regarded as equally blessed. We need not believe that he alone is blessed, or more so, who gets killed.

Personally I do feel, after the incidents at Peshawar and Chittagong, that there are bound to be two or more big massacres of innocent people. Or it may be that they would deliberately and firmly put the innocent behind the bars. In Karachi at any rate, only the innocent were killed or wounded. The truth is that even the Government does not know where it stands and what it wants to do. What is happening is something quite new for it and for the whole world.

Now take good rest. Make a *takli* of wood and spin on it as much as you can. Khadi stocks have been exhausted. Ask other prisoners also to spin.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9858

323. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 25, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Obtain the salt for the Ashram from the Provincial Committee. Write to me if it is not available there or from any other source in Ahmedabad.

Consult Imam Saheb about selling the salt.

Where has Sharjabehn sent her daughter?

I will write to Khushalbhai. I have received no request from Orissa for women workers. If you cannot send Sonamani and others, let them remain and get more training.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Bhai Bhansali wants work. In any case he wants to be permitted to take up the night watch. Give him any work you think proper. He may do even sanitary work.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8105. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

324. LETTER TO JAMNADAS GANDHI

April 25, 1930

CHI. JAMNADAS,

I got your letter. It was not necessary to send the wire. I believe that at any rate Khushalbhai will not be arrested. It would be a fine thing if he was accompanied by a batch of men. He should think about one thing. Perhaps they will stop his pension for participating in civil disobedience. Personally I think it would be good if they did so. The more injustice they do, the sooner will it end. If, however, he has not the courage to forgo the encumbrance that this pension is, he should give up the idea of civil disobedience, though I have no doubt at all that, in the present circumstances, civil disobedience has become the supreme religious duty. He should not detrain at Viramgam, but proceed further to Lakhtar or to any other place which has a camp. He may stay there as long as he feels inclined and then return home. He may afterwards offer civil disobedience when an opportunity occurs and, if circumstances arise anywhere, should even go and face bullets. In brief, he should be ready for everything. He should do this only if Devbhabhi agrees. If not, it is enough for me that all of us have his blessings. You may come to see me whenever you wish to.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 9308. Courtesy: Jamnadas Gandhi

325. SPEECH AT PANNAR

April 25, 1930

Gandhiji asked villagers to prepare themselves to go to jail but they should remember their fight was non-violent. They should not lift their little finger against the police even if they were assaulted.

Men like Pandit Motilal and his wife, who had grown old in the service of country had plunged into the fight. Why then should they stand back, asked the Mahatma.

Gandhiji referred to the police *zulum* and cruelties practised in some quarters under the law. The police had no right to use force even against prisoners. He condemned police atrocities and said their action was indefensible. But this should not deter the maintenance of the non-violent character of the struggle.

Gandhiji next exhorted the villagers to spin and weave their own cloth. They should not depend on outside villagers for the supply of cloth.

His message to students was to spin at least a *tola* of yarn per day. Prohibition, he said, was equally important. Liquor and foreign cloth drained India of crores of rupees.

Gandhiji asked if the village Headman had resigned. A khaddar-clad villager got up and said, long ago he had done so. He asked the parents to withdraw students from the Government-aided schools and start a National school. They should have nothing to do with the British Government. The village leader announced that 500 *khajur* trees had been cut down and the village had declared social boycott of Government officials.

That is good, but you must also boycott foreign cloth vigorously.

The Bombay Chronicle, 26-4-1930

[1] Gandhiji read out a letter from Mahadev Desai in which, describing his own arrest, he had written that young Gujarati graduates had courted arrest with him while accompanying lorries of contraband salt.

326. LETTER TO A. SUBBA RAO

April 26, 1930

DEAR FRIEND,

You should not join C.D.[1] but confine yourself to carding and the spinning-wheel.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. A. SUBBA RAO,
RAZAVARAM ATREYAPURAM
Via KOTHAPETA, E. GODAVARI DIST.

From the original: C.W. 9286. Courtesy: A. Subba Rao

327. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 26, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I think I shall be arrested in about eight or ten days.

After I know the names of the women who have been selected by Khurshedbehn and who agree to go with her, I will think about the remaining. The more the women who go with Khurshedbehn the better. She is an extremely pure woman. Is Sarojinidevi of any service?

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have written to Anjanadevi and told her that she should go with Ramnarayan.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8106. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] Seeking Gandhiji's advice the addressee had written that he wanted to join the civil disobedience movement but his aged parents did not allow him to do so.

328. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

April 26, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Moulvi Syed Rauf Pasha is a professor in Colombo. He is coming to see the Ashram and may stay there for a few days. Look after him and introduce him to Imam Saheb and Mirabehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8107. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

329. LETTER TO MAHALAKSHMI M. THAKKAR

April 26, 1930

CHI. MAHALAKSHMI,

I got your letter. You certainly need not change your diet. You should continue to live on milk and fruit. I only wrote to Tarabehn and told her that if you did not get fruit at the place where it was proposed that you should go, there would be a problem. I therefore dropped the idea of sending you with her. I will certainly put you in circumstances in which you will remain in contact with an experienced woman who can teach you things. Most probably I shall go there tonight, and I will further talk with you then. Do not worry at all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 6796

330. SPEECH AT AMBHETI

April 26, 1930

"Court death: serve your country" was the gist of the Mahatma's message.

He said he had visited the aged mother of Vithaldas, not to express sorrow but to congratulate her for giving her son to the cause of the country. Every mother must give her son to serve the country. Vithaldas had not really died, but lived in the memory of his country for ever. Many would have to die to liberate India.

The moment they ceased to fear death swaraj was near. They should prepare for death when fighting Government which had resorted to excesses.

He appealed to the people to continue the unfinished work of Vithaldas, by uprooting every *khajoor* tree in the village and by completely giving up drinking.

The Bombay Chronicle, 28-4-1930

331. SPEECH AT BULSAR

April 26, 1930

I was here at Bulsar only a few days ago. If you had done some special work since and called me here to have a view of it, my visit would have been worth while. But neither you nor the Government has done any such thing. Ramniklal Modi was with me on the Dandi March. The Government conferred upon him the distinction of sending him to jail. You called me here to celebrate the occasion. But what is there to celebrate in that? Only a year for a co-worker of mine! This time we are playing a more serious game. Jail is now a familiar thing to us and its hardships are no hardships. Even women and children ask to go to jail as if it was some tasty dish. In a word, we have given up the fear of jail. People have realized that to go to jail is to share in the struggle for swaraj. I welcome all this, but I attach no value now to jail-going. I feel no exhilaration when I hear that some co-worker of mine was sentenced to one year or two years, or, for that matter, even five years. It would exhilarate me to hear that a co-worker like Jairamdas was shot dead or

that another co-worker, of an equally spotless character, had had his skull broken. The Government's actions so far proclaim to us, 'We shall break your heads, but will not repeal the salt tax.' Our answer to the Government is, 'We are willing to offer you as many heads as you want, but do please remove the salt tax.' If Ramniklal had made an offering of his head and a patch of Bulsar land had been besmeared with his blood, then you would have been justified in asking me to come. But Ramniklal has displayed no such heroism, nor has the Government. Such heroism is being displayed at Anand and at Dehwan. There volunteers were beaten up in the night and, so that the police might enjoy beating them, lights were put out. If they call me there, I would immediately go. That is an occasion worth celebrating. By all means ask me to come here when you have such an occasion. Whether such an occasion will come is in the hands of you brothers and sisters of Bulsar.

The Headmen of your villages are still clinging to their posts. But I am not interested in their announcing their resignations. Their resigning and their clinging to their posts exposes us to ridicule. If any Headmen are present here, I beseech them to withdraw the resignations rather than expose us to ridicule. If there are none here, the local workers should convey my request to them. The Bulsar Municipality has still not dug a well for the Bhangis of the place. If you do not get a contractor for the work, give me the contract. The people of Bulsar should take a vow that as long as the Bhangis are not given water, they too will draw no water. Entrust the administration of Bulsar to me for a day, and I will show you if this cannot be done. If you cannot do this much, take it from me that you will not win swaraj for Bulsar. This is said to be a civilized town. Toddy worth Rs. 45,000 is sold here. I must admit that this is a mark of civilization. At the same time, let me respectfully submit this also that your civilized town ought not to have invited at such a time a man like me, a man who is impatient to secure swaraj, to get the salt tax abolished and to end the Government's barbarity.

What have you done to stop the consumption of liquor? At least the women here are civilized, not in the sense I have just mentioned though! They sing in such a sweet voice. If they sang their beautiful *bhajans* to people given to drinking, it could have an excellent effect. Our sisters in Olpad and Jalalpur talukas and in Surat have in this way brought about very good results. The question which worries the owners of liquor booths is how they would live if their business stopped. People should go to them and

offer to find for them other trades if the drink trade is given up. At Karadi yesterday, four Parsi brethren came to see me. They said, "Only two months are now left. Permit us to continue our business for that period." After joking with them for a while I said, "Now when the whole country is swept by a wave of awakening, shall I for the sake of your trade entreat the people not to give up toddy?" They said, "No, but why should there be picketing?" "If picketing makes the drink addicts feel ashamed of themselves and they turn away from the shops, why should I not do it?" I said. Then I asked them if any of the women pickets exercised coercion on them or the addicts. They admitted that they would not say that.

Picketing is done everywhere by women only, and that gives good results. If all the women present here work in that spirit, they can get all liquor shops closed in twenty-four hours. No man, however bad a drunkard, can remain unmoved by the loving appeal of you sisters. Go to the addicts and humbly tell them, 'Brothers, why do you do this?' When you appeal to them in this way, the addicts will reform themselves and so too will the owners of the booths. People do not want to be coerced, but, when you bathe them in your love, their love for liquor will dry up. The *Bhagavad Gita* says that a fasting man's craving for sense objects diminishes but his instinctive pleasure in them does not disappear. It disappears only when God's grace descends on him. And your love is that divine grace. I have no doubt that it will dry up the drunkard's pleasure in drinking. If you do really mean to achieve something positive, see that the liquor and toddy booths in your place are closed and the toddy palms uprooted from everywhere.

I have been told that your city has 100 *taklis* and 7 spinning-wheels. That is not enough to accomplish the boycott of foreign cloth. The *takli* should be plying in every home. I cannot of course provide spinning-wheels for you all. Even if some benevolent carpenter of Bulsar came forward, he too would find the task impossible. But *taklis* you can make for yourselves. If you cannot make a hole in a pice you may use broken pieces of children's slates, or even potsherds. If you are hoping that I will get you khadi from Bombay and make you wear it, it is not going to happen. Khadi stocks in Bombay are already exhausted. If you want to wear khadi you must ply the *takli*.

You may break the salt law, but that by itself will not get you swaraj. It will no doubt bring about repeal of the law. But if you want swaraj you will have to die for it—of course not in the way

they died at Chittagong. That way swaraj would take four months when it could be won in four days. And I do not know when it will be actually won. But what shall we call this beating of innocent workers at night? Is it *goonda* raj? It looks as if it was. There is nothing but *goondaism* in all the accounts that reach me. The *mavalis* are after all ignorant men, and we may endure their methods, but how can we tolerate this *goonda* rule? All of you men and women who have gathered here, if you have met to do something and not merely to witness a show, resolve here and now that you will not suffer this *goonda* reign, that your answer to all laws that offend against morality will be civil disobedience. We do not wish to follow the path that Chittagong took. The more the suffering inflicted on us, the more of it shall we invite.

You are all civilized people and you should take it that though I have said little I have said a good deal. And do kindly act upon it. They have taken from your shores a good man like Ramniklal. He is a good man and given to *tapascharya*. The imprisonment of such a pure man has indeed brought swaraj a little nearer. Now it is up to you to prove that you deserve workers like Ramniklal, Mohanlal Pandya, Ishwarlal and Nichhabhai.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-5-1930

332. SPEECH AT CHHARWADA

April 26, 1930

People have conferred on me the title of salt-thief as a substitute for Mahatma. I like it. But it is no easy thing to be a salt-thief, while it is easy enough to be a Mahatma. If one makes a fuss of eating and drinking and wears a *langoti*, one can easily acquire the title of Mahatma in this country. In a little while I shall go with you and get some salt from the nearby creek. We shall not get pure salt, as the benign Government has had it all mixed with earth. Anyway, we shall take what we can find. But when can we be called thieves? Only when we are punished for theft. What kind of theft is it which no one even so much as takes notice of? We shall pick up a little dust. It may well be considered theft under the law, but the world will not take it as such nor will the Government. It will be real theft when you have your hands broken in committing it. Though we shall be collecting salt, possibly neither you nor I will have our hands broken.

It will be real theft only when we raid those mounds of salt over there. When I went to Untadi, I saw them from a distance and thought them quite beautiful. Having a near view today, I find them dirty and ugly. Let them be what they are, we shall be real salt-thieves only when we lay hands on them and have our hands and wrists broken or get thrown into jails.

I would even ask you not to confer the dearly bought title of salt-thief on everyone who merely goes to jail. You do not have your ribs smashed in going to jail. Just now I had a letter informing me that in the Kheda district some people were beaten. They were all respected public workers. Those who had beaten them were Government functionaries but they too were our own men. In order that they might enjoy the beating better, they even put out the light. Six or seven men are now in hospital undergoing treatment. None of them is likely to die, but, if anyone should, we would call him a true leader of salt-thieves. You will of course come with me to take salt from the creek here, but you will not thereby earn the title of salt-thieves. Yes, we may be said to be candidates for that title. When we have committed real theft of salt, there will no longer be any salt-thieves at all. For the Government will then say to us: 'You all refuse to obey the salt law. Very well then. All those salt dunes are your property from now on.' That property is not worth even seven crores of rupees. That amount we pay direct. If we add to it the expenditure involved in collecting the sum, we save 20 crores. How can the Government persuade itself to forgo such a large amount? At present we have in the country thousands and even hundreds of thousands of volunteers who are ready to steal salt. But would that be enough to make the Government let go such a large income? Before it does so it will wound a good many, even kill some of them. However, after it has done its worst even this tyrannical Government will have no escape from having to give up the income. When that stage is reached, then alone will you have the right to call me a salt-thief and I the right to be so called.

For the present, however, Mahadev has proved himself a greater salt-thief than I. Since Sardar was taken away, he has not had a single moment's rest. The Police Superintendent on his part was not very eager to arrest him. He saw that so long as he was free he would at least provide the authorities correct information. But what was he to do? Just as men were bringing from Dholera a motor lorry full of salt, Mahadev jumped onto it. But I am unwilling to call even him a salt-thief though he was arrested for the act. I have written to him to say: "It is well

that you have been imprisoned, but your duty was to die for the cause." It was good that at Anand some had their arms and skulls broken. What trouble can there be in jail—and A class at that? What is wanting for the saheb? There is more to eat and drink than at the Ashram. One cooks for you, another fetches water and a third will wash your dhoti for you. Are these the marks of a prisoner? When men like Mahadev and Jairamdas have their heads bleeding and their clothes beautifully splattered with fresh warm blood, then, from some corner or other of the world human pity cannot but spring forth. Surely, there must be God somewhere? When blood flows from heads not only will the salt tax go but many more things will also be washed away into the sea. And then our numerous sins will disappear under the earth as this salt heap before us is covered with it.

You may call me a salt-thief but only when we take possession of the salt-beds of Dharasana. What is there in picking a seer or two of salt from here and there? Even the Government must be wondering what a childish game we are playing. If you mean to play the real game, come out and loot the salt-beds of Dharasana, or Bhayander, or Kharaghoda. The game we are now playing is, I admit, a children's game, but from that one day we will proceed to serious business. And on the day the real game begins, I invite you all, brothers and sisters of Chharwada and Dharasana to join me in the fun. But the day is not yet. When an account of the Dharasana raid is being recorded what will you, the immediate neighbours of these salt-beds, have to say about your part? Will you have it recorded that you ran away at the time or that you bared your bosoms and remained? We will not be angry with those who put out the light and beat the volunteers, nor will we abuse them. We want to follow a different rule of justice. Do you remember the saying: "Offer a finger and the wrist is bitten"? If these Government men seize our finger, we will offer the wrist and if they seize the wrist, we will offer the shoulder; and if they seize the shoulder we will offer our very neck. Now that they have started beating our volunteers, let us plan a campaign so that we invite all the beating on our heads.

But whatever we do should be above reproach. I did not like at all what happened in Peshawar. If the reins of Government fall into the hands of such persons, will they not rule in the same way? Will they not break the heads of the poor? I want every head in the country to be well-protected. Even a small girl should be able to move about safely in any part of India. Our struggle is for self-purification and I wish you all to become pure. It is

impossible that you should be able to carry out a raid on Dharasana salt-beds wearing those black caps or foreign saris. In any case, for my part at least, I would not let you accompany me. When you all come out for the raid, each should be wearing khadi; if enough khadi is not available, you will wear only a khadi *langoti*. Today you may all come with me as candidates to be salt-thieves, but when I come again for a raid, I will have with me none who does not wear khadi and who is not plying a *takli* at the time. I should indeed like all of you to join me. But if you have not carried out the programme of self-purification by then, I shall not hesitate to go alone.

Do not tell me that khadi is not available. Get a *takli* and spin on it. Send yarn as well as money to pay for the weaving. Then I undertake to supply you khadi. If you do not pay weaving charges you will get so much less khadi. If this is done there will be no shortage of khadi. I have entrusted this work to our sisters. Men, by making salt, will save Rs. 7 crores, but women, if they are proficient in the work, will be able to save Rs. 60 crores.

I have been telling you about the Dharasana raid. Do not think it will be two or three years before the raid takes place. An old man like me, past sixty years of age and nearing death, cannot speak in terms of years. I can speak only in terms of a few months, and, if you give me your co-operation, a few days. But why should I come here if I find that the people of Dharasana are liars, drunkards and debauchees? If I did come even then I would fight for salt with the help of other men, not with your help.

I have made it clear to you that only if you wear khadi and give up liquor will I let you join me in the raid on the Dharasana salt-beds. If you do not fulfil the condition and still insist on coming, I will offer satyagraha against you. I shall offer satyagraha against you as I would offer it against the bayonets of policemen. I do not wish to take possession of Dharasana salt with the help of drunkards or of people who wear foreign cloth. I will do that with the help only of the pure and spotless. The volunteers who are present here should go from house to house and carry this message of mine to the people. I shall be content if people stay at home but I will not tolerate their interfering in my work without fulfilling the conditions I have mentioned. If you do not like that, you are free to abandon me. You may give me no food, not even a glass of water to drink. I know how to carry out the raid on a hungry stomach. I will be here again in a week or two; and if you have not done by that time what I have asked you to do, you may stay away and sing *bhajans*.

Rather, I would shun the *bhajans* and shouts of '*Jai*' coming from such people.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

333. MESSAGE TO AMERICA

[Before *April 27, 1930*][1]

The national demand is not for immediate establishment of Independence, but is a preliminary step to a conference, that must take place if Independence is to be established peacefully, to remove certain prime grievances, chiefly economic and moral. These are set forth in the clearest possible terms in my letter, miscalled an ultimatum to the Viceroy. Those grievances include the salt tax, which in its incidence falls with equal pressure upon rich as well as poor and is over 1,000 per cent of the cost price. Having been made a monopoly, it has deprived tens of thousands of people of their supplementary occupation and the artificially heavy cost of salt has made it very difficult, if not impossible, for poor people to give enough salt to their cattle and to their land.

This unnatural monopoly is sustained by laws, which are only so-called, but which are a denial of law. They give arbitrary powers to police, known to be corrupt, to lay their hands without warrant on innocent people, to confiscate their property and otherwise molest them in a hundred ways. Civil resistance against the laws has caught the popular imagination as nothing else has within my experience. Hundreds of thousands of people, including women or children from many villages, have participated in the open manufacture and sale of contraband salt.

This resistance has been answered by barbarous and unmanly repressions. Instead of arresting people the authorities have violated the persons of people who have refused to part with salt, held generally in their fists. To open their fists, their knuckles have been broken, their necks have been pressed, they have been even indecently assaulted till they have been rendered senseless. Some of these assaults have taken place in the presence of hundreds and thousands of people, who, although well able to protect the victims and retaliate, being under a pledge of non-violence, have not done so. It is true that violence has broken

[1] This appeared in *The Sunday Times*, 27-4-1930.

out in Calcutta, Karachi, Chittagong, and now Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi events should be isolated from those at Chittagong and Peshawar. The Calcutta and Karachi incidents were an impulsive outburst on the arrest of popular leaders. The Chittagong and Peshawar incidents though also caused for the same reason, seem to have been serious and well-planned affairs, though wholly unconnected with each other, Chittagong being in the extreme east and Peshawar being in the north-west border of India.

These disturbances have so far not affected other parts of India, where civil disobedience has been going on in an organized fashion and on a mass scale since the 6th instant. People in other parts have remained non-violent in spite of great provocation. At the same time, I admit that there is need for caution but I can say without the least hesitation that, consistently with the plan of civil disobedience, every precaution conceivable is being taken to prevent civil disobedience from being used as an occasion for doing violence. It should be noted that in Karachi, 7 wounded persons of whom 2 have died of their wounds, were volunteers engaged in keeping the peace and restraining mob fury. It is the opinion of eye-witnesses that the firing in Karachi was wholly unjustified and that there was no firing in the air or at the legs in the first instance.

In fact, the Government have lost no opportunity of incensing people. Many of the best and purest and the most self-sacrificing leaders have been arrested and imprisoned, in many instances with mock trials. Sentences, though, for the same offence, have varied with the idiosyncrasies of the magistrates. In several instances they have been for more than 12 months with hard labour on well-known citizens. The enthusiasm of the people has up to now increased with every conviction. Thousands of people regard the manufacture of contraband salt as part of their daily routine. In any other part of the world with a Government at all responsible to public opinion, the salt tax would have been repealed long since, but whether now or later, repealed it will be, if the present existing atmosphere of resistance abides as it promises to do.

That this is a movement of self-purification is abundantly proved by the fact that women have come into it in large numbers and are organizing the picketing of liquor shops. Thousands have taken vows to abstain from intoxicating liquor. In Ahmedabad, a strong labour centre, receipts of canteens have dropped to 19 per cent and are still dropping. A similar manifestation

is taking place in the district of Surat. Women have also taken up the question of boycott of foreign cloth. It is spreading all over India. People are making bonfires of foreign cloth in their possession. Khadi, i.e., hand-spun cloth, is so much in demand that the existing stock is well-nigh exhausted. The spinning-wheel is much in demand and people are beginning to realize more and more the necessity of reviving hand-spinning in the cottages of 700,000 villages of India. In my humble opinion, a struggle so free from violence has a message far beyond the borders of India. I have no manner of doubt that after all the sacrifice that has already been made since April 6, the spirit of the people will be sustained throughout till India has become independent and free to make her contribution to the progress of humanity.

M. K. GANDHI

The Modern Review, June 1930

334. DRAFT LETTER TO VICEROY[1]

[On or before *April 27, 1930*][2]

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the undersigned women of Gujarat, have come to the conclusion that we may not keep ourselves aloof from the great national upheaval that is taking place. We are in full sympathy with the civil disobedience campaign in respect of the salt tax. Our sisters in the villages have already begun the manufacture of contraband salt.

But we feel that we must, as women, find an additional and special field for our activity. We feel the force of Gandhiji's argument that women are better fitted for dealing with the question of the prohibition of intoxicating drinks and drugs and boycott of foreign cloth. Drink has desolated many a home, and foreign cloth has deprived millions of India's women of their employment during leisure hours, which amount in the aggregate to no less than four months in the year.

These two are therefore questions that concern the women more than men. And in so far as they can be dealt with through

[1] This was drafted by Gandhiji.

[2] The draft was ready for signatures on April 27, 1930; *vide* "Letter to Amina Tyabji", p. 347.

picketing, i.e., an appeal to the hearts of those who traffic in these things and those who are lured to the drink and the drug or the foreign-cloth shops, we feel that we can make a more successful effort than men. And women doing the work must automatically ensure its peaceful nature.

As we embark upon the campaign we should respectfully point out that it is essentially the duty of the State to prohibit traffic in intoxicating drinks and drugs because they ruin both mind and body and homes of those who indulge in them and to prohibit the entry of foreign cloth inasmuch as it has brought about the economic ruin of the villages of this unhappy land.

As to the importation of foreign cloth it might be urged that the argument that applies to foreign cloth applies also partially to the cloth manufactured in Indian mills. Only the output of Indian mills is so far short of the requirements that khadi can have nothing to fear from them.

We wish that we had time enough to canvass the opinion of our sisters in the other provinces. But we know what their opinion is likely to be. After all we are not dealing with new problems. These have already been before the nation through its national organization, the Congress. What we are seeking to do is to dedicate ourselves more to these questions than to the others which along with these are being dealt with in terms of the independence movement.

We are,
Yours faithfully,

SHARDA MEHTA
INDUMATI C. DIVAN
MANORAMA CHINUBHAI
PARVATIBEHN GIRDHARLAL AMRITLAL
VIJAYAGAURI DURGAPRASAD LASHKARI
MAHALAKSHMI MANSUKHRAM
CHATURLAKSHMI JIVANLAL DIVAN
VIJAYAGAURI BALVANTRAO KANUGA
AMINA KURESHI
LAKSHMIBAI KHARE
MITHUBEHN PETIT
AMINA TYABJI
RAIHANA TYABJI
KANCHANGAURI MANGALDAS GIRDHARDAS
SULOCHNA CHINUBHAI
TANUMATI CHINUBHAI M. RANCHHODLAL
SARLADEVI AMBALAL SARABHAI
VASANTGAURI NARSIDAS
MRS. CHIMANLAL NAGINDAS
ANASUYA SARABHAI
MOTIBAI RANCHHODLAL
LILAVATI HARILAL DESAI
NIRMALA BAKUBHAI MANSUKHBHAI
SANTOK M. GANDHI
DURGA MAHADEV DESAI
GANGABEHN RANCHHODDAS BHATIA
SAVITA TRIVEDI
MRS. JAYANTILAL AMRITLAL

Young India, 1-5-1930

335. DRAFT OF APPEAL TO WOMEN OF GUJARAT

[About *April 27, 1930*][1]

SISTERS,

Here is a letter to the Viceroy. Please sign it if you feel you can do so. The original letter is in English. This is a translation of it. You will understand the contents carefully and sign it only if you wish to join the movement. If you sign it, please give full particulars: such as your name, address, age, etc. The names will be published in the papers and your signing the letter will mean that you will be ready to join in picketing liquor booths and foreign-cloth shops and to work under the instructions of the self-appointed committee formed by the signatories below.

However, there is also another way in which you may function. Instead of working under this Committee, you may form your own committee and determine your own area of activity. That is, you may picket only those liquor booths or foreign-cloth shops which you may choose. Even if you do so, we shall ultimately come together and work in co-operation with one another. If you wish to join in this sacred work, you should intimate while sending your signatures whether you would form a separate committee or work under this one.

We remain,
INDIA'S WOMEN VOLUNTEERS

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 16845

336. HONOURING THE MEMORY OF VITHALBHAI LALLUBHAI

This struggle will claim many lives. One must die to go to heaven. Unless thousands die, swaraj, which is dearer than heaven, will not be secured. The purer the men sacrificing themselves in this cause, the earlier shall we get swaraj and the less will be the number of people sacrificed. If everyone realizes and does his duty, there will be no question of dying in the struggle. But this ideal state hardly ever occurs in this world. Sacrifice,

[1] It is likely this was drafted about the same time as the preceding item.

therefore, consists in oneself being pure and innocent, but laying down one's life [as atonement] for another's evil. If no one committed sin, where would be the need for sacrifice?

Sacrifice does not simply mean accepting the penalty of death at the hands of the Government. It certainly is a sacrifice if one engaged in the struggle undergoes unmerited suffering and dies. It is of course a sacrifice to suffer an accident, while uprooting toddy trees as part of our struggle, and to die on that account.

Such a sacrifice was made by Vithalbhai Lallubhai yesterday. Vithalbhai was a teacher in a national school. Being enthusiastic he had joined as a volunteer. While he was cutting a toddy tree, the axe fell on his leg, he sustained a fracture and thorns pricked his hands. The doctor spared no pains in treating him. But God's will was otherwise, and on the fourth day Vithalbhai breathed his last.

I saw Vithalbhai on the very day on which he was hurt. I was impressed by his courage. Though it had been a serious operation, he was cheerful. The doctor was all praise for his fortitude. All of us had expected that he would recover. However, having fulfilled his life's aim, Vithalbhai departed doing his duty and discharging his debt to the motherland fully.

The town of Navsari realized the grave loss in Vithalbhai's death. People flocked to where he lay, grieving. A great crowd formed into a procession and followed his body to the cremation ground. The procession seemed to be a celebration. Navsari observed a hartal on that day.

Who would not ask for a death so glorious? I regard Vithalbhai's mother, brother, wife and all others of the family worthy of congratulations on their good fortune.

Why is such a death desirable, one may ask. It is so because it purifies those left behind and awakens a greater spirit of service in them. Has it so happened in this case? If it has, let us fittingly honour his memory. Vithalbhai gave his life in the fight against the drink evil. It behoves us to apply ourselves to the task and even risk our lives in it. Vithalbhai lost his life in Jalalpur taluka. It, therefore, becomes the special duty of this taluka to see that the toddy trees, stained with his blood, are rooted out, that the liquor and toddy shops are closed down and that the addicts give up drinking.

I had been to Bodale yesterday. The people there paid a glowing tribute to the departed soul. On my request a number of leading men of the place granted permission for felling the toddy palm trees owned by them.

As we lost Vithalbhai, so did we lose Dattatreya and Meghraj. These latter offered their lives to bullets at Karachi. For Vithalbhai, who was engaged in ending the drink evil, I suggested a method of honouring his memory befitting the cause he served. As for Dattatreya and Meghraj, let us honour their memory by promoting peacefulness among us. In the measure that disturbances increase, we shall have to suffer more acutely and in larger numbers; and to that extent the winning of swaraj will be delayed. The greater our peacefulness, the less our need of sacrifice. It is not by throwing stones, shouting slogans, attacking offices and other buildings and setting fire to tram-cars that we can win swaraj for the poor.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

337. THE SPIRIT OF RAAS

I have seen the pledge taken by Raas. The people of Raas should understand that they have taken the pledge on their own responsibility. The Kheda district has been displaying wonderful strength. Abbas Saheb, who has renounced all, has made it his home. He has dedicated his tender daughter Hamida to the abolition of the drink evil. His wife had already dedicated herself for that work. Raihana, poor cripple, spends her days and nights thinking of India only. The old gentleman is himself working in Kheda, and he is not to be intimidated by anybody.

Kheda has the help of a man like him. Some tried workers from the Ashram batch have also been working in this district. And now Kheda has Sardar's own daughter, who fears none and whom God has endowed with inexhaustible energy for work. So Kheda has all the help it needs.

If Kheda lacks the ability to preserve peace or the tenacity to hold out till the last, it will put both itself and Gujarat to shame in the eyes of the public.

The Government will not tolerate refusal to pay land revenue. We have not yet reached that stage in the programme. However, those who have the courage may certainly withhold payment. Did not Panchia Patel do it all by himself? But those who adopt this course run great risks. They should not be surprised if their goods, chattels and livestock are put up for sale. What happened in Bardoli is no guide to what may happen in Kheda. The Bardoli struggle was in a way limited in scope. It was a fight for

securing a right. This is a fight to wrest power from the Government. The one is as far removed from the other as the earth from the sky.

Hence, to be able to stand firm in the step taken by it, Raas should cultivate the requisite purity of spirit and self-sacrifice. Other villages wanting to follow in its footsteps should first take a measure of their own strength quietly. I may say, however, that the district from which they carried off Sardar and then Durbar and in which Mohanlal Pandya and Ravishankar (Maharaj) have their homes, can never do enough.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

338. MY NOTES

Strikes

A trader has expressed sorrow at the frequent hartals. I feel that a hartal should not be observed on any and every occasion and on the arrest of every leader. In all matters the middle path is the only right path. Excess is never good in any matter. When in some village a leader is arrested, it may be necessary to observe a day's hartal in that village. But I personally do not regard it proper to have a hartal all over when a leader with some reputation is arrested somewhere. I hear that it is the intention of some traders to observe a hartal for seven days when I am arrested. I hope that this is not true. If it is true, I wish that those contemplating it will change their mind. Observing a week-long hartal will not bring us swaraj. Only by working for the constructive programme, not merely for seven days but on all days until swaraj is won, shall we get swaraj and set free everyone who is in jail. The present time calls for careful thinking, wisdom and quiet work.

Dangers of Picketing

A woman correspondent says that picketing may increase friction. So according to her we should be content with propagation of swadeshi. My humble opinion is that both are necessary. If the picketing is left entirely to women without any men joining there will be no friction. What women need is endurance and patience. Picketing does not mean coercion. It means appeal or request—and a request may be made to all the communities. The picketing programme includes organizing meetings everywhere,

taking out processions, caste meetings passing resolutions, going about singing *bhajans*, etc. In no case does picketing mean that anyone is to be prevented by force. For the rest, if one wants boycott to succeed one must produce khadi. Those sisters who consider picketing risky may card and spin and create an atmosphere for such work.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

339. IMAM SAHEB

Mahadev has appointed Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer as his successor. The whole of Gujarat is familiar with the name of Imam Saheb. I had kept him buried in the Ashram; he is like my own brother. From being a client of mine, he became a satyagrahi, after becoming a satyagrahi he became an inmate of Phœnix and, not resting at that, he came over to India with a few other inmates of the Ashram. An acquaintanceship which began in 1902 has lasted until 1930. Hence this relationship of ours is not a recent one.

Imam Saheb is not a reformed Muslim but an orthodox one in the sense that he never misses his prayers or his fasts. His father was the Muezzin of the Juma Musjid of Bombay. He is himself styled Imam because he officiated as priest in several mosques in South Africa.

It was Sardar who brought Imam Saheb out into the public, but Sardar is not a person to do so with a view to flattering Imam Saheb. He realized Imam Saheb's freedom of spirit and hence brought him out into the open and took him with him wherever he went.

Although Imam Saheb may be called illiterate, he is shrewd and well versed in the practical affairs of life. He understands many things from mere hints. It is not for the first time that Imam Saheb is being given an important position. He had often occupied such a position in South Africa. If he is not arrested, those who come into contact with him will soon realize that he is not one to sit in a chair like a dummy. He can guide a meeting and give considered decisions.

I have had no hand whatsoever in the choice of Imam Saheb. I do not recall suggesting his name to Mahadev. Of course I approved his name after it had been suggested by the latter.

The age for having dummies as chairmen is now past. Only

those persons who are capable of guiding us, who put into practice the commands of the public or resign if they are unable to do so can become important public servants.

Imam Saheb is such a person. The veteran Abbas Tyabji is another such person. Swami has found such a person in our brother Abdulla. In this choice the Swami has put himself to the test and has set the limits of this struggle. I could not dream of Swami giving the chair to Abdullabhai. I myself could not have made that choice, despite the fact that it was I who first made his acquaintance and brought him over to the Ashram. Swami has chosen a person who has cut off his own head and put it on a platter. Nevertheless, the reason for these three being chosen by Gujaratis is not only because they are Muslims. These selections have not been made in order to please anyone. They have been selected because besides being Muslims they are worthy of the offices for which they have been chosen, because they are prepared to lay down their lives, to make sacrifices and are as sincere Indians as they are Muslims.

This struggle is not one only of Hindus or of Muslims or of any one community. It is of all Indians. And, if we go a step further, this struggle is for freeing the world from the monstrous tyranny of material greed; it is a struggle to prove that money is not God, but that God alone is everything and that nothing else except Him is real.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-4-1930

340. KHADI AND BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH

Those who believe that boycott of foreign cloth is impossible without progress in khadi know that the boycott can be deemed successful only when and to the extent that khadi is available to replace boycotted cloth, and that then alone shall we be saved from repenting afterwards. Thus production of khadi is at present the most important issue facing us in regard to boycott. If khadi is not available foreign cloth is bound to enter India by the back door if not openly. In this state of things the khadi bhandars should think what they can do.

The Residents of Bombay

What in particular should the Khadi Bhandar of Bombay do? The Bombay Khadi Bhandar is the biggest in India. It

receives khadi stocks from all around. But everywhere the consumption of khadi has gone up and it is with great difficulty that the Bombay Khadi Bhandar can supply khadi to its customers. If in these conditions this Bhandar does not find a solution, it had better close down. Discussing this question with Shri Vithaldas Jerajani, I told him: "Now you should ask customers to pay for khadi not in cash but with hand-spun yarn. When you do this, those alone will come to buy khadi who wish really to effect the boycott through the use of khadi. In this way, moreover, the use of khadi will become clean. The number of those spinning cotton will go up, and you will get heaps of yarn. When things are properly organized, you will again have a huge stock of khadi. It would be best if the yarn had been spun by the customer himself. However, it may be open to him to offer the yarn spun by members of his family. Some resourceful men may go to villages, get yarn spun there and bring it to you. With a population of tens of millions, it is quite easy to produce yarn. You will have to make immediate arrangements to get the yarn received woven into cloth. There are many weavers in Bombay, and we should see to it that, when boycott of foreign cloth becomes effective, no foreign yarn finds its way into the Indian market. The yarn from Indian mills may be there, but the mills may be persuaded not to compete with hand-spun yarn. Weavers in whom the spirit of patriotism can be aroused will use only hand-spun yarn to make cloth."

"But what if by adopting this method we estrange people?"—asked Jerajani.

"Those who understand our aim will not be angry. As for others, let them be angry if they must. If they do not wear khadi, they will be the losers. Khadi has nothing to lose."

If the method I have suggested is adopted, we shall realize the place of khadi in the boycott of foreign cloth. If we are convinced that the boycott cannot be effected unless the use of khadi spreads, why should we be afraid of telling the truth? Our duty is to do the right and have others do it, leaving the fruit to God.

If I know Bombay, however, it will, I am sure, realize the necessity of the method I have suggested. It will not be offended but will help the cause to the best of its power.

Let us all take to the *takli* as an emergency duty and make handsome *taklis* from bamboo and potsherds. Let us ourselves card cotton and begin producing yarn. It will be enough if one gives just two hours a day to the work. All employees of khadi bhandars should become *takli* experts, and teach people coming to the bhandars to make *taklis*, to card and to determine the count

of yarn. After six months of this work, there will be no scarcity of khadi. We should also realize that if the khadi spirit becomes universal, the villages will never be short of khadi, for they will quickly produce what they require.

Everywhere in Bombay one question is likely to be asked: "On the one hand you are advocating mass civil disobedience and, on the other, you are advising people to use the *takli*. How can a person offering civil disobedience think of plying the *takli* in the midst of all the excitement?" My reply is: "Breaking a law merely for the sake of breaking it may mean excitement. How can there be excitement in civil disobedience? 'Civil' means 'peaceful'. Peace and excitement are incompatible with each other. If there is true peacefulness in our disobedience, the *takli* will be plied with all the greater enthusiasm, because it is the very embodiment of peace. Going round volunteer camps, I find that in several places they idle away their time and say, "Give us work or get us arrested." To get them arrested is not quite in my hands. I can give them work, and that is plying the *takli* and the carding-bow. These thousands of soldiers can certainly produce yarn in thousands of *tolas* a day. A thousand *tolas* of yarn means twenty-five seers of it, or not less than seventy-five square yards of khadi. Our requirement of cloth is estimated at one inch and a quarter per head per day. This means that we shall have met the requirement of twenty-one hundred persons for a day. The result thus worked out is enough to astound any man. But it will be no surprise to those who understand the principle behind "strength from many threads woven together". A person spinning a *tola* of yarn supplies the raw material to clothe in khadi himself and 1.25 other persons. It is child's play for everyone to spin one *tola* of yarn. And if we are carrying on a peaceful struggle, it is possible to ply the *takli* even while picketing or facing bullets. We do not wish to protect our persons. Let us suppose that we go to take possession of a salt-water basin owned by the Government, but the officers will not let us have it. Since we continue to confront them they would arrest us, or shoot at us or charge at us with lathis to prevent entry. Until this stage is reached, why could we not peacefully ply our *taklis*? The *takli* is the satyagrahi's weapon. If the opponent has guns, we have our *takli*, made of bamboo and potsherds. I can think of no sight more magnificent than this. Will not Bombay and other towns or villages welcome this suggestion?

Let us consider this further. Tens of millions won't come out to face bullets or spend the whole day making salt or join processions. What, however, will women, children and the old do?

If they spin, they too will have offered their contribution to the swaraj *yajna*.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 27-4-1930

341. TESTING ME

The Government has been putting me to a stiff test. It is entitled to do so. The Government perhaps thinks that if it cuts off my hands, I may lose the battle, or, even if I don't, at least I shall be isolated. It would seem to be the right thing in the eyes of the world. And that is why Mahadev was removed and Swami, too, not to mention other old co-workers and some new ones like Bhai Munshi.

Mahadev and Swami stand for *Young India* and *Navajivan*. Though Swami had left *Navajivan* formally it did not mean that his connection with it was cut off. It is like my connection with the Ashram, which is not broken even though I am no longer among its Trustees. The *Navajivan* means Swami. Even from Bombay he had been looking after *Navajivan*. He took great pains to help Jamnalalji in serving the untouchables. The activities at Ville Parle prospered because of his tireless labour in their behalf. And as for Mahadev, the Gujarati people living near Ahmedabad know his recent work better than I from this distance can know it.

But what would it matter even if every one of my co-workers was taken to where Mahadev and Swami have been taken? I do not regard myself isolated at all. God is my only friend, philosopher and guide, call Him what I may. I have not embarked upon the present struggle counting upon the strength of Mahadev, Swami, Sardar or any other person. I remain therefore unconcerned, no matter how many of my co-workers are sent to jail. Why should a weak man worry? The strength of the strong may be destroyed, but who can destroy the strength of the weak?

Though a weak man, I feel I am strong too, but I rely in this struggle on God's strength. He guides me in what I eat and drink, in what I speak and write. I, therefore, feel no burden at all. I do not feel the arrest of Mahadev, Swami, or Ramniklal. For their part, they will have some rest. They needed it. If I must worry, there are Chittagong and Peshawar to worry about. They touch my heart of course, but they do not cause me worry.

This is a struggle between violence and non-violence. To the extent that I am non-violent in spirit, non-violent remedies will

occur to me; and these I shall put before the people so long as I remain free. In my absence also, if the spirit of non-violence has then become general, people will follow non-violent methods. Those who have not come under the spell of non-violence are bound to do so in the end if the true spirit of non-violence comes to prevail among the people.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 27-4-1930

342. LETTER TO AMINA TYABJI

April 27, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

Herewith the letter to the Viceroy.[1] Please sign and give it to bearer to be posted to the Viceroy.

How is Raihana?

Hamida is doing great work in Olpad.

Yours,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: S.N. 9688

343. FRAGMENT OF LETTER TO ASAF ALI

April 27, 1930

Personally I am of opinion that picketing may not be suspended anywhere. But if the local Congress has committed itself to a suspension directly or indirectly, it must be carried out in any case and at any cost.

Strict performance of promises is the essence of satyagraha.

A.I.C.C. File No. 182-F, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

[1] *Vide* pp. 336-7.

344. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

April 27, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I got your letter. I was glad to read it. If you continue to exercise such intelligent self-control, your restlessness will disappear. I do not think there will be any harm in applying the plaster. If, however, you take hip-baths, menses will certainly start. It would be better if you did not join the drill. If you keep yourself calm and do not work too hard, and if you sleep outside in the open, your fainting fits will stop.

If you do not pass stools easily, you must take enemas. The bowels should not remain uncleared for more than 24 hours.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9562

345. LETTER TO RAMESHWARDAS BIRLA

JALALPUR,
April 28, 1930

BHAI RAMESHWARDASJI,

I have your letter. I know your love for khadi. That is why I hesitate to offer comments on your scheme. However, I must tell you that your scheme is not workable because the mill-owners will not give up their interests.

For many matters Government aid is essential; it will never be available for the boycott [of foreign cloth].

If the boycott can be successfully implemented by the efforts of the mill-owners only, khadi need have no place in it. But I am confident that boycott will be successful only with khadi.

This does not mean that mills have no place in the scheme at all. The mills can take their proper place only by recognizing the worth of khadi. According to the doctrine that various individual deities are included in God, we destroy them by worshipping them separately because they have no independent existence, and we do not reach God either.

For all these reasons, the prosperity of the mills and the success of foreign-cloth boycott lie in spreading the love of khadi and increasing its production. *Verb Sap.*

Hope you will not find any difficulty in deciphering my handwriting.

Yours,
MOHANDAS

From Hindi: C.W. 6184. Courtesy: G. D. Birla

346. *LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH*

April [*28*][1], *1930*

BHAI NARAHARI,

I have just heard that Kaka has been arrested. In a way it is good if he insists on being supplied the food which he requires, such as milk, etc., and even fights for that purpose. Let me know what you intend to do now.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I have explained to Khurshedbehn what to do in regard to that Parsi liquor-booth owner. Women should undertake to picket his booth. They should go to him in a procession. They should even pass a resolution at a meeting. All this if Anasuyabehn approves.

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9047

347. *INTERVIEW TO "THE BOMBAY CHRONICLE"*

JALALPUR,
April 28, 1930

A raid on Government salt depots was inevitable, but the plan of action was incomplete.

Asked if a raid on Dharasana salt depot was finally decided upon, Mahatmaji said:

I have taken no final decision. I am praying for light.

[1] Kaka Kalelkar was arrested on this date.

In reply to a question if he would send intimation of the raid to the Viceroy, Gandhiji observed:

I shall certainly not take the step without due intimation. If the raid comes at all it will come very soon.

Asked how he proposed to carry out the raid if the police barred the entrance to the salt pans, Gandhiji replied:

I do not know; but I shall know the way when the block stares me in the face. When I talk about the raid I simply think audibly, as is my wont. But so far as I can see the raid is inevitable.

The Bombay Chronicle, 29-4-1930

348. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April 29, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

Why do you even entertain the suspicion that it is because you are unfit to go there that I do not take you with me to Dharasana? Just now, however, we will be exercising self-control if, instead of laying down our lives in an attempt to seize the Dharasana [stocks of salt], we refrain from such self-sacrifice and quietly do the task which has fallen to our lot. At present your duty is to wait quietly by Imam Saheb's side. All the same, if I require you or think it necessary, I will call you. If occasion demands, you may sacrifice yourself too as Kaka has done.

Did you get my letter regarding Mahadev's work? In it I have analysed his action in great detail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9048

349. SPEECH AT BILIMORA

April 29, 1930

Gandhiji addressing the meeting said he did not want to put the Indian States in an awkward position either by making speeches or breaking the Salt Act. Let us first of all settle everything with the British and everything that is to be done in the States will be done later.

I would not ask you to break the salt law but I would certainly appeal to you to adopt khaddar and carry on a vigorous campaign against liquor. You could participate in the two items of boycott of foreign cloth and liquor shops. Liquor trade has ruined our labour class and it is the duty of every citizen, be he a State subject or a British subject, to save them and ladies alone can successfully bring about that change of heart among the drunkards, which is so essential.

There is an impression in certain circles that I am starting picketing against Parsi owners of liquor shops only but that is not a fact. Picketing is to be against liquor-shop owners of all communities: Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and others. Parsis are like my brothers.

I would like to picket even Englishmen's liquor shops, but at present I am afraid to do so. They would not like to be our brothers but would prefer to be our masters.

We will not get swaraj by non-violent means if we do not drive away the evil of drinking from amongst us. We do not want a drunkard as our President during swaraj nor do we want him as a voter. We must destroy that cup of Satan wherever it is found.

In the end Gandhiji asked them to settle their disputes by arbitration.

The Bombay Chronicle, 30-4-1930

350. VEILED MARTIAL LAW[1]

[BILIMORA,
April 29, 1930]

The revival in the form of an ordinance of the Press Act that was supposed to be dead was only to be expected, and I observe that in its new form the Act contains additional provisions making the whole piece more deadly than before. Whether we realize it or not, for some days past we have been living under a veiled form of martial law. After all, what is martial law if it is not the will of the commanding officer for the time being? The Viceroy is that officer, and wherever he considers it desirable he supersedes the whole of the law, both common and statute, and imposes ordinances on a people too submissive to resent or resist him. I hope, however, that the time for tame submission to the dictation from British rulers is gone for ever. I hope that the people will not be frightened by this ordinance. The Press men, if they are worthy representatives of public opinion, will not be frightened by the ordinance. Let us realize the wise dictum of Thoreau that it is difficult under tyrannical rule for honest men to be wealthy. And if we have decided to hand over our bodies without a murmur to the authorities let us also be equally ready to hand over our property to them and not sell our souls. I would, therefore, urge Press men and publishers to refuse to furnish securities, and if they are called upon to do so, either to cease publication or to challenge the authorities to confiscate whatever they like. When freedom is actually knocking at our door and when for the sake of wooing it thousands have suffered tortures, let it not be said of the Press representatives that they were weighed and found wanting. They may confiscate type and machinery, they will not confiscate pen and still less speech, but I recognize that they can succeed in confiscating even these last two. But what they will never succeed in suppressing and what is after all

[1] This formed the basis of an interview to *The Bombay Chronicle* and was published with the following note: "Below is given the full text of Gandhiji's statement on the Press Act that has already appeared in a more or less mutilated form in the various English papers."

the thing that matters is the thought of the nation and at the present moment there is hardly a man or woman breathing in India who with every breath does not breathe in disaffection, sedition, disloyalty and whatever other term one may use to describe the mentality of the nation which has set its mind on destroying the existing system of Government.

Young India, 8-5-1930

351. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

April 29, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I was unable yesterday to send you anything though I fully intended. But I worked till midnight to finish *Y. I.* Now these lines whilst I am in the train.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5394. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9628

352. LETTER TO SATIS CHANDRA DAS GUPTA

April 29, 1930

BHAI SATIS BABU,

Your letter caused me much pain. Today I have had a letter from Krishnadas too. I am enclosing it with this. He seems to be somewhat lacking in sense. I had never thought Krishnadas could harbour deliberate malice. Look him up and have a talk. I have written to him too. Is it not a part of our struggle to try to overcome our differences? Write in English if you find any difficulty in expressing yourself in Hindi. At present it is essential that we understand each other well. If Hindi is not adequate we must make do with English. If you have sufficient time then write both in English and Hindi.

Do you feel any after-effects of the fast? Please ask Hemprabha Devi to write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 1618

353. INTERVIEW TO "THE LEADER"

BILIMORA,
April 29, 1930

I need hardly say I join the chorus of congratulations that has been showered upon Mr. Vithalbhai Patel on his resignation which was daily expected by many of us, especially after the deliberate withdrawal by perhaps the oldest living servant of the nation, I mean Pandit Malaviyaji, who, braving hostile criticism, had stood by Government even during the sunniest days of non-co-operation in 1921 and refused to leave the Legislative Assembly.

The Leader, 2-5-1930

354. STATEMENT ON POISONING OF SALT-BED

JALALPUR,
April 30, 1930

Since the repudiation, after further and careful investigation my informant sticks to the statement that he made to me. I had the samples analysed, and the result of all my investigation is that there certainly was some tampering with the salt-bed in question. Whether the substance added rendered the salt poisonous or not I am unable to say, but it certainly contaminated it. The sudden change in the complexion of the bed and the colour of the water are absolutely beyond question. What then remains to be proved is, whether this change happened through human agency or a superhuman one, and if through a human agency, whether it happened through that of the Government or some other. Seeing that Government officials have been tampering with salt-beds, destroying them by mixing mud in them and otherwise, the burden of proof rests on their shoulders that there was no contamination produced so as to render the salt unfit for human use.

The Hindu, 4-5-1930

355. *CONGRATULATIONS TO DELHI JOURNALISTS*

NAVSARI,
April 30, 1930

I am delighted at the brave gesture of the Delhi newspapers,[1] which have been served with peremptory orders under the Press Ordinance to furnish security. It would have been terrible if on the very first application of the Ordinance important newspapers had weakly submitted to the insult embodied in the Ordinance. I hope that the refusal to conduct their newspapers under security is permanent and that other newspapers will follow the courageous example set by the Delhi editors and publishers.

The Bombay Chronicle, 1-5-1930

356. *LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH*

April 30, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

Qureshi is required in Chikhli only in order to work among the Muslims. You can send him after a few days.

It would not be wise just now to start disobedience of the *mahura* law. The three things which we have taken up are enough. And now the Government's Press Act will provide further opportunities. Chhotelal is going there. Use his services.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9049

[1] They had decided to suspend publication as a mark of protest.

357. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

April 30, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

As Imam Saheb is ill, you should not call him to the office. Let him remain in the Ashram and give his decisions from there. When it is absolutely necessary for him to go to the city, he should go in a car. You should save his energy in other ways, too. We can make no change now till he becomes altogether incapable of work. Have you all considered what you should do in that contingency? It seems to me that you yourself will have to assume charge of the affairs. But I cannot judge. How can I know the present circumstances there? Do what all of you think proper. What about Balubhai?

Maganbhai will meet you and give you the message about *Navajivan*. Hence I do not write about it here. If I am arrested, Mohanlal should become both the Editor and the Publisher. How is Kamalnayan?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9050

358. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 30, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

Kaka writes to say that with his arrest you may become more fidgety. It is his considered view that for you sacrifice consists in remaining behind in the Ashram. I agree with him. Bear everything in patience. To preserve one's peace of mind even in the midst of a conflagration is also an art, it is a form of *sadhana*[1].

Blesings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8748. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

[1] Spiritual effort

359. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

April 30, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I will not mind your living on gram and puffed rice, if you can keep fit on that diet. But do not deceive yourself. Give the body the food it requires and keep it fit for service.

If you wish to come and bring with you the girls and the women who have not visited me, you may certainly come. Not that your coming will do any good, for you will have to run back as soon as you come.

Relationships depending on the body are noxious. They are as transitory as a mirage. Why should we be blindly attached to them? Through physical life, we should cultivate a relationship of the soul and know that it never ends, that it alone can be pure and free from ignorant attachment.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8747. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

360. LETTER TO VASUMATI PANDIT

[April 30, 1930][1]

CHI. VASUMATI,

I was in fact expecting a letter from you. It is 10 p.m. now. I will not, therefore, write more. Kamalabehn also should write. It will be at least a week before we start on the march. Come before that.

Blessings from
BAPU

SMT. VASUMATIBEHN
SATYAGRAHA CAMP, BHIMRAD
Via SURAT

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 544. Courtesy: Vasumati Pandit; also S.N. 9280

[1] From the postmark

361. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

[*April 1930*][1]

CHI. MANI,

I have your letter. Yesterday I could not after all write the note you had asked for. Now you will surely go. I enclose the note although it is unnecessary.

See that you act in a manner worthy of yourself, of Father and of me. Try to read and understand the *Gita* as well as some Gujarati books.

Write to me regularly. Inquire into the report about the poisoning of salt-beds in Kheda and let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL
NADIAD

[From Gujarati]
Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 70

362. PLEDGE FOR SWARAJ WORKERS

[*April 1930*][2]

We, the undersigned, join in the fight for Purna Swaraj and, till it is won, we will not take up any work other than what is assigned to us.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8108. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

[1] From the reference to poisoning of salt-beds it appears the letter was written in April 1930.

[2] In *Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine* this is placed between letters of 26-4-1930 and 3-5-1930.

363. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI

10.30 p.m., Thursday [On or before *May 1, 1930*][1]

CHI. AMINA,

You know very well the reason why I have not asked you to go out and work. Do not worry. You may do whatever you can staying at home. You may freely write to me anything you wish to. Imam Saheb will soon be in jail. He will probably get there earlier than I do. May it be so.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4294. Courtesy: Hamid Qureshi; also G.N. 6649

364. MAHADEV DESAI AND HIS SUCCESSOR

I have hardly time to notice arrests and imprisonments even of eminent Indians. I do not even come to know of them immediately. Being constantly on the move and living in a village, often twenty-four hours elapse before I know some of the important events. Happily it is unnecessary for me to know them. When many important persons act as one man and undergo suffering and when many important events take place at the same time, both become common things and it is a happy sign. We take no notice of the myriads of sunbeams each as important as the sun itself. We pay homage to each when we worship the sun which is the crowning act of the simultaneous action of the beams. Even so do we worship daily the ever-waxing sun of India's freedom which is in the process of formation.

But I must take notice of Mahadev's conviction. In the midst of chaos going under the false name of Government, Mahadev's arrest was a courteous and reluctant business on the part of the authorities. Though he set ablaze the whole of Gujarat from Viramgam and Dholera to Ahmedabad, the authorities recognized that it was a life-giving fire, that they were safer under

[1] This was the last Thursday before Gandhiji was arrested on May 5.

Mahadev's rule than their own and that he was well able to control the forces he had brought into being.

But Mahadev made it impossible for the authorities to keep him free. He had managed to "smuggle in" a lorry load of salt from Dholera. The authorities were wide awake. They intercepted the lorry. They had hoped not to find Mahadev in it. But when he saw that the lorry was to be arrested together with its precious load, he got out of the car in which he was following and jumped into the lorry. And so if they were to arrest the lorry they could not help arresting him. Nor could Mahadev help jumping into the lorry in the circumstances. With him was a youth who was to have appeared for his final LL.B. the following day; two were young men from the Gujarat College and two were sons of wealthy men. The lorry was given by Sjt. Ranchhodlal, a mill-owner who, when warned what might befall the lorry, said, "What fear about the loss of the lorry when I am prepared to lose all for swaraj?"

Mahadev has got his well-deserved rest. For hundreds of strenuous workers the jail has become a resting house. Mahadev yearned as he says after "a better fate but evidently had not yet deserved it".

He has appointed as his successor Imam Saheb Abdul Kadir Bawazeer, a comrade from South Africa and Vice-Chairman of the Ashram Committee and one of its trustees. Imam Saheb is an elderly man hardly capable of strenuous labours. He may be said to be illiterate. But he is a seasoned soldier and son of a devoted Muslim who was till the time of his death muezzin of the Juma Musjid of Bombay. He is himself styled Imam because he officiated as priest in several mosques in South Africa. He is an orthodox Mussalman in the sense that he never misses his prayers or his fasts. But he is also most liberal-minded or he could not have lived with me in the closest contact in the midst of all sorts of people for an unbroken period of nearly twenty years.

But the swaraj of my—our—dream recognizes no race or religious distinctions. Nor is it to be the monopoly of lettered persons nor yet of moneyed men. Swaraj is to be for all, including the former, but emphatically including the maimed, the blind, the starving toiling millions. A stout-hearted, honest, sane, illiterate man may well be the first servant of the nation as Imam Saheb has become in Gujarat and another still less known friend, by name Abdullabhai, has become in Ville Parle. He is the successor of Swami Anand who by his inexhaustible energy and amazing self-denial made Navajivan Karyalaya, though a purely

philanthropic institution, also a sound business proposition which has been bringing to the doors of the Gujaratis the truest gems of Gujarati literature understandable by the masses. But these are not rare instances. These are typical of what the struggle has thrown up all over India. The Government is making its last desperate effort to retain India as the milch cow of the White Islanders in the far off West. But selfless servants of the nation will no longer permit the rape of the cow at the expense of her three hundred million children.

Young India, 1-5-1930

365. TO CORRESPONDENTS

My correspondence accumulates daily. I have purposely deprived myself of much assistance. Seasoned workers have been better occupied. It is therefore impossible for me to cope with the correspondence from day to day. I have invited co-workers whom I have sent away to different parts of the country to keep me duly informed of their doings. They naturally expect at least an acknowledgment. I find however that I am unable even to do that. The fact is that I should be regarded as a half prisoner permitted to receive letters but prevented from writing in reply except occasionally. Presently I shall be a full prisoner if not something higher. Therefore when fellow-workers and others do not receive letters from me they should know that I have had no time to write to them.

Young India, 1-5-1930

366. GOONDA RAJ

If what is going on in Gujarat is any indication of what is going on in other parts of India, even Dyerism pales into insignificance. This may appear to be an exaggerated statement. But it is meant to be literally true. The massacre of Jallianwala was a clean sweep. It created an impression both in the intended and the unintended sense.

The death by inches that is being dealt out in Gujarat is unimpressive either way, and may, if care is not taken, prove utterly demoralizing. It may weaken the victims and decidedly debases the tyrants.

If I have the time I shall summarize the events of the past week for these columns. In any case the reader will find the whole of the evidence in the daily press.

Mahadev Desai had hugged the belief that after the efforts he made by going there himself and sending lawyer friends, the barbarous torture had ceased at Viramgam. But it was not to be. A volunteer was for a few minutes isolated from his company, and this gave the representatives of law and order an opportunity of falling upon their victim and treating him as his predecessors had been treated at Viramgam.

This is what Dr. Narsinhbhai Mehta, a retired Chief Medical Officer of Junagadh, who at the age of 66 was enthused with the spirit of satyagraha, saw with his own eyes:

> I brought a party of about 120 satyagrahis, each with a bag of ten lb. of contraband salt from Wadhvan Camp this evening.
>
> As I led the party, I was the first to meet the inspecting party consisting of one European officer, two Indian officers and about 4 or 5 police constables. Over and above this there were about fifty spare constables watching the entrance of the staircase.
>
> I was asked what I had got in the bag under my armpit. I replied, "Ten lb. of contraband salt." "All right, old doctor, you can go," they said. I said, "I am leading a party of about 120 satyagrahis, each with a bag of such salt. So I want to see personally how you deal with them, or whether you allow them to go freely just like other passengers." He said, "All right, you stand apart on one side, and watch." One by one the satyagrahis were made to pass through the said inspecting party and immediately all the seven or eight of them, including the European officer, caught hold of each resister and snatched the bag from the hands of the satyagrahi, handling the resister most roughly. Almost every satyagrahi was treated likewise. It was a disgraceful proceeding. I had a very high opinion of Englishmen all throughout my life. This was the first experience of the kind during sixty-six years.
>
> When I could bear the treatment no longer and expostulated, the officer said: "Speak to the public outside about this and write to the papers!" And the whole performance went on as before.

Mark the callousness with which Dr. Mehta's entreaty was met. It was a jolly performance for the British officer and his fellow-loyalists to indulge in the sport of dispossessing young men of their precious possession. It was no use telling them that the victims were not running away nor hiding anything. The law had to be respected without any waiting for the law's delay on the part of its administrators.

But even this was nothing compared to the scenes enacted in the Kheda district. I own that the brave sons and daughters of Kheda have carried out fairly successfully the legitimate boycott of officials who are no longer able to impose their will upon the people. They have brutally struck a graduate and professor of the Gujarat Vidyapith who had committed no offence, but who had gone simply to see what was happening when he heard the beating. In the same district near Borsad a few police supported by a local Thakore and his minions armed with long armed sickles without notice put out the lights at a meeting and mercilessly fell upon their victims. The audience consisted of Patidars and Rajputs who were fully able to defend themselves. But not a stone was thrown, not a word was uttered. For the sake of discipline they suffered. One man narrowly escaped death. Seven are still lying in a hospital. Altogether thirty-five have been traced as having been injured. This was a cowardly edition of Jallianwala.

Then take Ahmedabad. A liquor dealer finding his till empty from day to day got so exasperated that he savagely attacked the pickets one of whom lay senseless. The picketing was of the most peaceful as acknowledged by everybody. There was not even any demonstration. Only the names of those who visited this were taken down by the pickets who knew them. The success of the picketing lies in this case in moving the caste machinery which still works fairly among the labouring classes.

Have the administrators of law and order done anything to prevent this savagery? No. They have secretly enjoyed it. They are welcome to the joy of it. Only let this be not called 'law and order'. Let it be called Goonda Raj.

The duty before the people is clear. They must answer this organized hooliganism with great suffering. If they have the will and the power, freedom is assured. Freedom is a fruit of suffering, licence is born of violence. What we are all pining for is freedom that imposes restraints upon itself for the sake of society. Licence imposes suffering upon society so that it may enjoy exclusive privileges. This is a Government of unbridled licence because it is a Government whose chief, if not sole, aim is to exploit Indian society.

PS. Since writing the above I have almost identical pictures from Balasore and Mathura. I reproduce them in full. Authorized hooliganism is evidently India-wide or fast becoming so.

Young India, 1-5-1930

367. *NOTES*

The Speaker's Resignation

Vithalbhai Patel's resignation does not come as a surprise upon us. It would have been surprising if he had not resigned. By his courage combined with impartiality, he won the affection of Congressmen and commanded the admiration of opponents. I am glad he recognizes that the way to serve the country is not through the Assembly. The legislatures are but a pawn in the game of exploitation. Ostrich-like we hide our heads in the sand and refuse to see what is plain as a pikestaff to the onlooker. Vithalbhai Patel's resignation is a severe blow to the prestige of the Government. His firmness in the Chair was undoubtedly embarrassing to the Government; his vacating it in the manner he has done is still more so.

Frontier Provinces

When I marched to Dandi, friends in the Frontier Provinces had offered to send some volunteers to help me. I sent them thanks in appreciation of their offer but did not avail myself of it. How nice perhaps it would have been if they had not actively participated in the movement. Those who, not being sure of perfect non-violence being observed, do not take an active part in the struggle are most assuredly helping it. Those who wanting to serve take part in it and violence results, as happened at Peshawar, are as assuredly harming the movement. That the people in Peshawar meant well I have no doubt. They are perhaps more impatient (if such a thing were possible) than I am to win freedom. But nobody can get freedom today in this land except through non-violence. We cannot get India's freedom through the way of violence; we are within reach of it if we would but keep up non-violence to the end. The way lies not through the burning of armoured cars and taking the lives of administrators of the Government machinery; it lies through disciplined organized self-suffering. I deeply regret the occurrences in Peshawar. Brave lives have been thrown away without the cause itself being served.

Necessity of Fulfilment

There is a great deal of bartering among us. The position taken up by foreign cloth merchants is but a symptom of that spi-

rit. They want to give up foreign cloth trade only if they can do so without suffering any loss. But patriotism does not admit of barter. People are expected like Dattatreya to face death, like Kachalia in South Africa to face compulsory insolvency, like the late Gopabandhu Das and others, not known to fame, to face poverty and like the widow of Vithalbhai of Ambheti to suffer the death of nearest and dearest ones. Therefore the reluctance of foreign cloth merchants to suffer losses, in my opinion, betrays want of real patriotism.

But the Delhi merchants contend that the local Congress Committee has bound itself to stop picketing under certain conditions. If that be so, the promise has to be fulfilled at any cost. If the word of a Congressman or a Congress organization cannot be relied upon, we shall ultimately lose the battle. Satyagraha means insistence on Truth. Breach of promise is a base surrender of truth. I have therefore advised the parties, if they cannot agree as to the text of the promise, if any, to refer the matter to arbitration.

I understand too that in Delhi, they have resorted to mixed picketing. I have suggested that it should be confined only to women. It does not matter if picketing is suspended for want of sufficient women pickets. Every occasion for violence must be avoided. Men can produce by careful propaganda and production of khadi an irresistible atmosphere for the boycott. But picketing wherever it is done must be confined to women.

Rashtriya Stree Sabha

This body has now formed a sub-association whose sole object is to do the work of the two boycotts—liquor and foreign cloth. It has made a public appeal for funds. I have no doubt that it will receive greater public support than hitherto. The public should know that the ceaseless workers in this association are the G.O.M.'s grand-daughters. His spirit is watching over their devotion and India's work with pride and satisfaction.

From Overseas

I have had cables from Mexico, the Phillippines, South Africa, East Africa and elsewhere wishing the cause success. I have purposely refrained from publishing them, not out of ungratefulness, but because I know that valuable as the wishes of other people are, what will decide the issue will be our own wishes and consequent action. If our action is correct the good wishes of the whole world will be with us if they are not already. Nevertheless I must reproduce the two following messages as they are from English

friends. It is the conversion of England that civil resisters are aiming at. I have enough criticism from England, some of which I have published in these pages. It gives me pleasure therefore to publish good wishes of some English friends.

DEAR MAHATMA GANDHI,

We the undersigned members of the Executive of the War Resisters' International are watching with intense interest the progress of your campaign in India. In accordance with the principles of the War Resisters' International we believe in the possibility of overthrowing imperialism by pacifist means and we rejoice that you are relying upon the method of non-violence.

We send you our love and sympathy in the hardships and difficulties which you will undoubtedly have to face and assure you that we will do our best, by propaganda in whatever circles may be open to us, to assist you in your fight for truth and justice.

Yours sincerely,
A. FENNER BROCKWAY
HAROLD F. BING
MARTHA STEINITZ
STEPHEN J. THORNE
H. RUNHAM BROWN

May non-violence achieve success.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

WOMEN'S APPEAL TO THE VICEROY

The appeal of the women of Gujarat made to the Viceroy, printed elsewhere,[1] deserves world-wide attention. The appeal has been promoted by the Gujarati women only. For an all-India appeal much time would have been required. But it is to be hoped that the action of the Gujarati sisters will be copied by all the other provinces with such changes as may be necessary. The organization has to grow naturally. Therefore a variety may be invited. It would not matter, so long as the central facts are allowed to remain intact. They are (1) no mixed picketing, (2) Boycott of foreign cloth, not merely British cloth, and this through khaddar.

Young India, 1-5-1930

[1] *Vide* pp. 336-7.

368. QUESTIONS ANSWERED

Professor Syed Rauf Pasha caught hold of me when last I was in Bulsar[1] and asked me some pertinent questions on Hindu-Muslim unity. At my request he reduced the questions in writing so that I could give precise answers. The reader will find the questions and the answers below:

Q. 1. You say that the present campaign is intended only to create the necessary strength among the people to gain independence rather than to establish independence. If you feel that Dominion Status on the basis of the Nehru Report will create that strength, will you accept it when the Muslims feel that it would be only Hindu strength rather than National strength that would be gained thereby?

A. I should never feel that any *grant* can give us strength. In no case could the Nehru scheme be revived or accepted if only because the communal solution suggested therein does not satisfy those concerned in it and also because it does not stipulate for Independence as it obviously could not at the time.

Q. 2. Do you consider the Ali Brothers to be sincere in differing from you over the time of starting the disobedience of the salt law and over the question of participation in the Round Table Conference; and that they were in no way influenced by the British Government in the adoption of such an attitude?

A. I certainly consider the Ali Brothers to be sincere in what they say. If I believed them to be insincere or capable of being influenced by the British Government, I should never hope of their being weaned from what to me appears to be a grievous error as my action appears to them to be.

Q. 3. Do you realize or not that the Ali Brothers still have a great following among the Muslim masses throughout India and who would swell your ranks tomorrow if only the Ali Brothers assure them that such a step will not be detrimental to their interests?

Further, don't you think that even the Ali Brothers with all their influence were and still are powerless to dispel their suspicion of the Mahasabha Hindus just as you were and still are powerless to carry the Hindu community

[1] On April 26, 1930

with you in the settlement of the communal question although your leadership in other matters is not questioned?

A. How can it be otherwise? Their record of service will always secure for the Ali Brothers a following among the Muslim masses. There is no doubt therefore that their coming would mean additional strength to the cause.

Deep-rooted suspicions cannot be dispelled by leaders however influential they may be.

Q. 4. Do you think that Muslims specially of the N.W.F. Province and Malabar are sufficiently trained for non-violent fight as the Hindus specially of Gujarat are; and do not past recent occurrences in these provinces impress on you the necessity of stopping such unprepared provinces from immediate participation until such organization is complete and that otherwise there would be an unnecessary loss of Muslim life?

A. I have repeatedly warned those provinces that are unprepared for strict non-violence against participation in the struggle. It is quite enough if they can give their sympathy.

Young India, 1-5-1930

369. LIQUOR AND PARSIS

Several Parsi friends seem to be under the apprehension that liquor picketing is to be confined only to Parsi liquor dealers. This is wholly a misconception. Picketing is now going on all over India in a more or less organized fashion. And in the parts other than Gujarat there are more Hindu dealers than Parsis. Even in Gujarat the thousands of toddy trees that are being uprooted belong overwhelmingly to Hindus. Toddy booths owned by Hindus are certainly to be picketed on a most extensive scale. Organized picketing, it should be remembered, has only just commenced. In my speeches I have made a pointed appeal to Parsis because there is an indissoluble bond between them and me and because they are the most advanced and organized community in all India and therefore more readily amenable to reason. They read newspapers. Parsi liquor dealers attend my meetings, whereas Hindu dealers are too ignorant to do so. The latter can only be reached by personal visits made to them in their own booths or homes. Indeed the response I am getting from Parsi friends is quite encouraging, though not yet adequate. It is a Parsi sister—Mithubai Petit—who, assisted among others by a Parsi pleader, is organizing picketing in the Surat district. Behram

Mehta and Dhanjisha Darbari have gone to jail in the same cause. They were ostensibly arrested for breach of salt laws, but I have a suspicion that they were arrested for the possibility of their undoubted influence spreading among liquor dealers. Anyway, they were engaged in the anti-drink work as much as the Salt Satyagraha. It was a matter of joy to me too that some Parsi liquor dealers who came to me the other day went away satisfied to find that I had fully the intention of picketing toddy booths just as much as liquor shops. One complaint was that we were leaving alone the liquor shops in the adjacent Baroda territory. The charge is true. But I am hoping that the Baroda State people will organize the picketing of Baroda canteens. Prohibition is first and foremost a moral reform. The Indian States are as much interested in it as the rest of India. The States' people may take up this reform, and ought to do so.

The friends who saw me raised also the question of their living. It is here that the Parsis as a community have to step in to find a solution. Parsi associations can prepare statistics and organize bureaux for the employment of those who would need relief when the only source of their income is gone, as it ought to have long ago. It cannot be a matter of pride that this great community has so many of its members living on an immoral traffic.

Young India, 1-5-1930

370. 'TRIUMPH OF NON-VIOLENCE'

Who does not know Shri Rajendra Prasad? He writes from Patna:[1]

The more I become aware of the present trend in the country the more I am convinced that people have fully learnt the lesson of peace. There is still something lacking to be sure. But if people are peaceful and fearless to the end swaraj is not far away.

There are three prerequisites for swaraj: purity, fearlessness and work. Giving up of liquor and other intoxicating things is a sign of purity. Through civil disobedience of the salt law people are learning the lesson of fearlessness. When the charkha or the *takli* has become universal one can say that people have become

[1] The letter is not translated here. Rajendra Prasad had described how events in Patna had ended in a procession of about 15,000 being taken out on April 23 and how in the face of police violence the huge assembly had remained wholly peaceful and disciplined. He had called it a triumph of non-violence.

industrious. The economic gain from these things is of course there. Giving up of liquor, etc., will save us Rs. 25 crores. Abolition of the salt tax will save at least Rs. 6 crores and the *takli*, through the manufacture of khadi, Rs. 60 crores.

May God grant the people of this country strength to do all this.

[From Hindi]

Hindi Navajivan, 1-5-1930

371. LETTER TO ABBAS TYABJI

May 1, 1930

MY DEAR WHITE BEARD,

I had your letter. Kheda has become the storm centre. It is there that the danger exists. You will please keep the boycott clean and absolutely free of any compulsion. The little underlings ought not to be molested in any way. And I feel that you should transfer yourself to where the Thakore of Dehvan is residing. If you are satisfied about the atrocities, let me have a brief statement for publication. Try to see the Thakore if it is at all possible. Who is this Foujdar Munshi?

I am writing this in a moving train. Going to Hamida's seat of action and looking forward to seeing her.

Love.

Yours,
M. K. G.

From a photostat: S.N. 9572

372. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

Unrevised *May 1, 1930*

CHI. NARAHARI,

Getting used to 'Chi.' will take me some time.[1]

1. There should be no boycott of petty police officials. Provisions, etc., should be freely supplied to them.

2. But they should be disobeyed when they come as policemen. Any services demanded by them as policemen should be refused.

[1] Gandhiji first wrote "Bhaishri 5" and then struck it off.

3. Big officers should not be asked to vacate the houses in which they may be living.

4. In spite of the boycott, our relations with those boycotted should be happy. If they become bitter, take it that there is hatred in the boycott.

It is not the officials, but their authority that we boycott. We boycott not Dyer, but Dyerism. We should examine our attitude by putting ourselves this question: "How would I behave with the officer if he were my own brother?" For example, how do I behave with Harilal? This will enable you to understand your attitude a little more clearly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9051

373. EXTRACTS FROM SPEECH AT OLPAD

May 1, 1930

The Government has been testing us thoroughly by taking away our leaders from us one by one. It believes that, deprived of our leaders, we shall either hide ourselves in our homes or become violent. What can be better for the Government than if we hide? If we do not raise our heads, if we go on paying the land revenue year after year, continue drinking liquor, buy salt at a rupee and a quarter a maund and wear foreign cloth, the Government will want nothing more. On the other hand, if we resort to violence it can stand it since the consumption of ammunition will then go up, the industry in England will stand to gain, and its generals, captains and soldiers will have honours and awards conferred on them. There is just one thing the Government cannot put up with, and that is that we should refuse to obey its laws and to submit to its authority.

We have not been true to our salt. That is why we disregard the cloth made by the hands of our poor and virtuous brothers and sisters and import cloth from abroad. Islam had a Caliph who was the greatest among all the Caliphs. What did he tell the great governors from Baghdad who had come dressed in silken robes? "Your Prophet wore only coarse cloth. Where did you learn to wear such soft garments?" Holy men in those days had such power that people trembled before them. And this they did, not because they brandished the sword, but because they wielded spiritual power. Now people, whether Hindus or

Muslims, tell me that they find khadi too coarse. I laugh when I hear that, though, in truth, I ought to weep.

I have been told that in Surat when some of our sisters were on their round, the owners of toddy booths behaved badly. Some even threw clods of earth at them. I was ashamed to hear this. A man should die before he insults such women or swears at them or lifts a stone against them. What though the person behaving thus be a drunkard? Haven't drunkards their mothers and sisters? These women do not go and abuse them. They only humbly entreat them. Is it a crime to do so? Every man in this country should have the spirit in him not to tolerate women being insulted. This does not mean that one should lose one's temper with the person who abuses them. But how can any man have the audacity to abuse a woman or lift a stone against her? He ought rather to pray: O God, may my hand come unstuck before I commit such a crime.

Against whom can you raise your hand? Perhaps against a man who attacks you, though even that is at present forbidden. To raise one's hand against a woman is cowardly. It is unthinkable. I hope no Indian is behind these incidents. I hope the clod of earth fell accidentally on some sister. I had believed that though there might be wicked Indians, even they would observe some decorum. However, even if a few women have their heads smashed as some men have had theirs, we will not give up what we have undertaken in the name of God. If it is the fate of our sisters to be beaten they will be beaten. But let those who drink as well as those who sell liquor note that drinking will soon be a matter of the past.

> The way of the Raghus it has been ever,
> Life may fail but a pledge never.

We all brothers and sisters have now learnt to recite this quatrain and we are no actors in a play who only sing and do not act. Just as we know that the salt law is as good as abolished, let us also have the faith that the drink evil, too, will be gone.

Remember my humble prayer. I also want you to carry my message — the message of an old man — to all concerned and to the liquor-booth owners of Surat.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-5-1930

374. SPEECH AT RANDER

May 1, 1930

I appeal to Muslim friends to realize that at present we have embarked upon a movement of self-purification. The time has not yet come to divide the gains among ourselves. When that time comes, we shall decide the share of each. If it is our misfortune to fight then, we shall fight it out. But personally I believe that when that day comes, there will be no need for us to fight. There will be no cause then for mutual distrust or fear. At present our fight is directed mainly against the salt tax. Such a tax is forbidden in Islam. Salt is a necessity for all. The majority of Hindus and Muslims are poor people and the burden of the tax falls on them. In Rander, however, we have millionaires and multi-millionaires. They can see the facts if only they go with me into villages.

Our second task is to banish foreign cloth. Everyone can see from the accounts of the Spinners' Association that because of this movement we pay thousands of rupees to Muslim women and weavers. The large number of women in Vijapur who earn a living through this work and bless me are all Muslims. These poor women have often wept when my workers could not supply them enough slivers.

The third task is eradication of the drink evil. In which religion is drinking not forbidden? In the course of my life I have mixed a great deal with Muslims and attended many dinners given by Muslim hosts. Muslims cannot but join the movement for banishing liquor and other intoxicants from the country. Are those mill workers not Muslims who picket liquor booths in Ahmedabad and plead with proprietors and drink-addicts, patiently submitting to assaults and abuses?

This is God's work. He alone can do it who is ready to sacrifice his life for it. Only he who is ready to dive into the sea can bring up pearls from it. I only beg of my Muslim clients and other Muslims to realize that this movement of self-purification is not a monopoly of any community, and wish that all people should heartily join it. We will see afterwards how to share the gains when the Government asks us what we want. My prophecy about that day, however, is that we shall then no

longer think it necessary to fight, that one brother will invite another to take anything he wants. We shall then have nobility among us and the bargaining spirit will have disappeared. We have to do this work in God's name, in the name of the poor. Let all the communities help in it and let the town of Rander, too, give all the help it can and bring glory to its fair name.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 11-5-1930

375. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

[After *May 1, 1930*][1]

CHI. SUSHILA,

I have your letter. What is the name of the lady who is angry with me? Send her here. Are all of you concerned with substance or with unimportant details? I maintain good weight and sufficient energy; what does it matter, then, whether or not I eat fruit? I have kept a way open to permit me to start eating it again if it becomes necessary to do so for my health. I have not taken a vow not to eat fruit. But why should I if there is no need? I had read in a paper that you go out to picket liquor booths.

To you all,

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1184. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi; also G.N. 4772

376. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

May 2, 1930

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I was in fact expecting a letter from you when I got one. If you keep good health in the Ashram, you should stay either there or in Vijapur. If you have overcome the fear of death, you should be equally contented in all circumstances and go on doing the work which may fall to your lot. I do not feel inclined at

[1] According to *Navajivan*, 11-5-1930, picketing of liquor booths by Ahmedabad women started from this date.

present to call up here any of those who are left behind. If, however, you wish otherwise, let me know.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 898. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

377. LETTER TO VITHALDAS JERAJANI

May 2, 1930

BHAISHRI VITHALDAS,

I got your letter. You have asked for someone to help you. Maganbhai is going there. He is a very exact man in all matters. He will prove very useful to you. I wish you all success.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9773

378. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI

May 2, 1930

CHI. RADHA,

Mithubehn told me that you were eager to work with her. She intends to entrust you with a responsible task. If you really wish to work with her, I will not dissuade you. But Khurshedbehn also told me that you wished to work with her. If you gave her your word first you should work with her.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8682. Courtesy: Radhabehn Chaudhri

379. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

May 2, 1930

CHI. KUSUM,

I have still not received the letter which you said in your hurriedly-written last letter you would write.

I keep with this the two letters received from you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1798

380. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ

May 2, 1930

CHI. JANAKIBEHN,

I got Madalasa's letter today. I do not remember to have received any from you. Why should I get angry? You seem to have plunged into work there. I am glad that you are working with Perinbehn.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 2886

381. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

May 2, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

I do not know all the facts about the Headman. But why should he try to defend himself? If he has the necessary strength, he should suffer whatever is done to him. But otherwise he may by all means defend himself. I can conceive of only one situation in which a person may defend himself, and that is when a false allegation is made against him. Then he may, if he wishes, defend himself. In such cases, however, only those who are on the spot can decide what is right.

Bhagavati tells me that there will be darkness there after you go. There is no one, he tells me, who will give all his time to the work. Think about this and let me know your view.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9052

382. MESSAGE TO SAHU SABHA, BOMBAY

KARADI,
May 2, 1930

I hope that the Sahu Sabha will receive support from all patriotic non-Brahmins. The present struggle is intended to bring relief to millions and not to any particular class or caste.

The Bombay Chronicle, 3-5-1930

383. LETTER TO J. C. KUMARAPPA

May 3, 1930

MY DEAR K.,

Publish in the *I.S.R.*[1] only.[2] You are doing bravely. If *I.S.R.* refuses, let me know.

BAPU

SJT. J. C. KUMARAPPA
GUJARAT VIDYAPITH
AHMEDABAD

From a photostat: S.N. 10086 and 10087

[1] *Indian Social Reformer*

[2] This sentence is not in Gandhiji's hand but has been retained out of the four alternatives typed on the postcard.

384. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

May 3, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Bhai Sundaram was formerly an inmate of the Ashram. He has the virtues suggested by his name. He has left the Benares University and come to us. He will stay there for a few days. Cultivate his acquaintance and introduce him to the others. I shall write about other things after I get the mail.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8109. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

385. CERTIFICATE TO V. A. SUNDARAM[1]

[About *May 3, 1930*][2]

V. A. Sundaram has been in touch with me since 1915 and was in the Satyagraha Ashram for a long time from its foundation. He has left the Benares Hindu University with Pandit Malaviyaji's blessings to join the struggle. The best use that can be made of him and his wife[3], who is also with him in his decision heart and soul, is for both to go to Tamil Nad and there to break the salt laws, to assist in organizing, especially in his own district of Coimbatore, boycott of foreign cloth through the *takli* and boycott of intoxicating drinks.

M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat: G.N. 3207

[1] The original bears no title. The G.N. register, however, describes it as a certificate.

[2] It appears, this was written about the same time as the preceding item, in which Gandhiji wrote to the same effect.

[3] Savitri

386. TO THE PEOPLE OF KHEDA

In Gujarat at present the Kheda district seems to have become the centre of our struggle. Nowhere else in Gujarat do we find the same repression as in that district. There they arrest or release whom they like, beat up or abuse all and sundry. People may be said to have remained fairly quiet and peaceful in spite of provocation. But Kakasaheb observed some shortcomings also. People submit to the repression but in their severe boycott of the Government men there is anger and ill will and hence violence. They harass the Government officials in petty ways and call them names. This is not the way to success. We may denounce bureaucracy to our heart's content, but not the men in office. The poor officer is like any of us. Time was when, if not we, our own kinsmen wanted to be Headmen or Mamlatdars and we flattered the Mamlatdars. Now that our love of office is gone, how can we expect that theirs too should go? It is true that it should go. We should humbly try to cure them of their infatuation, and show them the evil that is there in the office of Mamlatdar or Sub-Inspector of police, but in no way should we vent our anger on a Mamlatdar or a Sub-Inspector of police. No matter how severe our boycott, it should be full of sweetness and courtesy. If it is not so, some day even a riot may break out. The Mamlatdar or the Sub-Inspector may cross the limits of decency. One might say that the Sub-Inspectors of Police have already crossed the limits, for I know that one of them insulted a person like Maganbhai Desai and manhandled him. Would it be surprising, then, if people should similarly cross the limits? If some regard it decent not to go beyond abusive speech, how can they blame others who draw the line at slapping the former? And once violent hands are laid on another, where will it all end? As things are still under control, it is time for the Kheda people to take heed and change things wherever necessary. Within the limits I have laid down, they are free to continue the different boycotts they have put into effect. Let me mention those limits. The reader should go through and understand Kakasaheb's article along with this. Let us take a Headman as an example.

If the Headman belongs to the village, he cannot be deprived of his place of residence or denied provisions. The boycott should

be confined to his duties as Headman. That is, his orders should not be carried out, not a drop of water demanded by virtue of his authority should be given and no provisions demanded by him for the visiting officials should be supplied. Should he, however, fall ill, we ought to serve him lovingly. If we lack the power or the love to help him thus we should give up the boycott altogether. Take it as gospel truth that if any boycott proceeds from a feeling of malice or enmity it will bring us no good, at any rate in our present struggle.

Some may say that this non-violence is a difficult thing. That is true. And still non-violence is as easy as it is difficult. It is easy for those who understand it. For others it is more difficult than even flying in the air. It was because I was fully aware of this that I did not include in our programme the boycott of officials. As the people themselves took it up, I have let it go on and even encouraged it in my speeches. But I have always mentioned the limits within which it should be practised. Nothing will be lost and it is still not too late, if the boycott is given up because the limits of non-violent boycott cannot in practice be observed.

I ought to admit that I am unconcerned with defeat or success. For I know that victory will come only with non-violence and that, whatever the good results violent methods may seem to promise, ultimately they will bring defeat. The ruddy cheeks of a tuberculous patient are not a sign of health, but a portent of imminent death. This, however, is not my whole story.

It does not surprise me that people cannot digest the non-violence that requires them to suffer beatings without demur. And yet that is what our original pledge contains. People have on occasion done quite well. I know that when the Thakore of Dehvan in complicity with the police made an attack on the people, the people could have fought back but did not. There have been several other occasions of the same kind, but people proved their fortitude by remaining quite peaceful. They deserve to be congratulated on their conduct. However, if they do not regard peaceful conduct as their duty but remain peaceful reluctantly, such peace will not last long. People will either begin to run away or fight back in self-defence, and both these are forbidden in our present struggle. People can neither run away nor fight back. The present struggle is one which requires us to learn the secret of living by dying.

No one has ever said so far that there is no victory in store for those prepared to face death. Some there are who doubt

whether the people have the eapacity to die, but many no longer have that doubt. It is possible to take the figures for the last World War and show that our loss in men and money during the four weeks of this struggle is only a fraction compared to that borne by each State participating in the terrible war in Europe. And, moreover, we have advanced. If our present struggle remains non-violent to the very last, we shall win swaraj without having incurred, during our whole struggle, the loss in men and money incurred in a single day of the European War. After this there should be no room for doubt. And if doubt goes, the necessary climate of public spirit is certain to build up.

So much for social boycott.

Now about discipline.

If the volunteers lack the sense of discipline, we shall find ourselves in a difficult position. In war discipline is everything. At the time of the Crimean War, the officers of the British army committed such blunders that vast numbers of soldiers were killed. The poor soldiers went on obeying the orders given and met their death. The stupidity of the officers has been forgotten, but the bravery of the soldiers has been immortalized in the golden words of a famous poem by Tennyson. This is how he enumerates the virtues of true soliders:

> Theirs not to make reply,
> Theirs not to reason why,
> Theirs but to do and die.

I feel that this is as it should be. It does not mean that the true soldier suppresses his reason. Before a man enlists in the army he should fully use his power of reason, know his commander and study the rules of service. After this, if he discusses at every step the sub-rules as and when they are framed, and if he weighs the pros and cons of the orders issued, his time would be wasted in thinking and arguing and the progress of work will be hindered. If every soldier claims for himself the right to argue with the commander, the battle might be lost. Therefore a soldier, having enlisted himself, should suspend his reason. If after enlisting oneself as a soldier, one gives free rein to one's reason and indulges in arguments on the subject of one's duties, one's reason will lose steadiness of purpose. That would be misuse of reason.

Everyone in Kheda who understands this should carefully observe our rules of discipline.

Carding and spinning are essential aspects of this discipline. The volunteers who do not card and spin should leave this move-

ment for swaraj. Our motto is: 'Swaraj through the thread of yarn.' To those who have accepted the motto, it is no longer a subject of discussion, but a duty to be practised. No matter if spinning does not seem necessary as part of the Salt Satyagraha; it is essential as part of the swaraj movement. True the salt tax has not been removed; our struggle, however, is not merely for its abolition but for winning our freedom.

Just as carding and spinning are essential, so is being clad in khadi from head to foot. This goes without saying.

The people of Kheda have been evincing boundless enthusiasm. If that enthusiasm is pure and non-violent, the peaceful activity of spinning is both its sign and its food. Quiet enthusiasm is always constructive, and its opposite begins and ends only as a wave of excitement.

I have one thing in particular to add. Not only Raas, but other villages also have taken the pledge of non-payment of land revenue. I like this pledge. Those who keep it will make a name in Indian history as heroes. But the consequences of the pledge need to be considered.

The person taking the pledge should be ready to let go his land, his homestead and his cattle, and do it without resorting to violence himself or through others. He who has faith that we shall get swaraj will not let anything disturb him. He is prepared to lose his land and his homestead. Even if he loses them now, he will have them returned to him. The Government can never appropriate them for all time. But those who lack such faith should at present take no risk at all of non-payment of the land revenue. In the Congress programme at present there is no mention whatever of non-payment of revenue, and hence one who pays up the tax has nothing to be ashamed of. However, the man who has self-confidence, who has the power to endure suffering, who can make sacrifices for his country or his commander, such a person will, on his own responsibility, refuse to pay land revenue. He has the right not to pay it.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

387. LAWYERS' DUTY

I have never minced words in criticizing lawyers. Mahadev, during his short reign, castigated them to his heart's content. But the lawyers did not misunderstand him. They saw that the shafts he aimed at them were shafts of love. Though the lawyers deserve criticism, their contribution to the fight for freedom is no mean one. Pherozeshah Mehta, the uncrowned king of Bombay, was an eminent lawyer. The Lokamanya was a lawyer. Manmohan Ghosh, Lalmohan Ghosh and Lalaji, the Lion of the Punjab, all of them were lawyers. Deshbandhu, who sacrificed lakhs in the service of the country, was also a lawyer. Motilalji, Malaviyaji, Vithalbhai Patel, Sardar, Jairamdas, Rajagopalachari, Prakasam, Venkatapayya, Santhanam, Munshi, Kamdar, Purushottamdas Trikumdas and Broker, all these are lawyers, and the President of the Congress himself is a lawyer. This list is not exhaustive. I have mentioned only the names which occur to me at the moment, but many others can be mentioned.

The lawyers have, therefore, no reason to feel ashamed of their contribution, but there is none to feel elated either. If despite the sacrifices of all these lawyers people speak ill of lawyers—even I have done so—there is reason for that.

People expect every lawyer to be a patriot, as they expect every Brahmin to possess spiritual knowledge. A lawyer, by his very profession, is an advocate of people's rights, an expert in law and politics and one who saves the victims of oppression by the State. When, therefore, a class of people who should regard service of the country as their profession give themselves up to the pursuit of self-interest, lead a life of self-indulgence or have no other aim than making money by encouraging litigation, people naturally speak ill of them. Though, taken absolutely, the number of patriotic lawyers named above will not appear insignificant, if we have regard to the total number of lawyers and the magnitude of their task, it will appear small indeed.

Lawyers have not remained untouched by the present awakening. The sacrifices of Shri Munshi and other lawyers stem from the present struggle. I see that lawyers who dare not or cannot give up practice, still wish to do some service. I hear that many lawyers in Bombay have stopped wearing hats and foreign clothes.

Some lawyers in Gujarat have come forward to investigate the cases of those against whom atrocities are being committed. All this is welcome indeed. But, leaving aside the question of their giving up practice, the important thing is that they should come forward in large numbers to offer civil disobedience and remain undeterred if the courts cancel their *sanads*. They cannot betray the country for the sake of their *sanads*. If in consequence of their doing national work they lose their *sanads*, they should welcome this as if they had been cleansed of dirt. If lawyers thus become fearless, they can help the people of their districts in many ways. If they shed fear, lawyers can

1. keep accounts of public funds;
2. explain legal intricacies to the people;
3. enquire into civil disobedience cases which have been arbitrarily dealt with and bring them to light;
4. be present at places where there is fear of violence;
5. explain to the people all cases of arbitrary use of authority;
6. enquire into injustices being perpetrated at present and point out to the public the Government's misdeeds;
7. help in manufacturing khadi;
8. help the women in bringing about boycott of foreign cloth;
9. since in every province almost all the prominent leaders have been arrested, lawyers can lead the people and encourage the present spirit of fearlessness.

I have suggested these items only by way of illustration. Those who are keen on doing service will think up many fields in which they may do it.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-5-1930

388. NOTES

Picketing

The proprietor of a liquor booth in Ahmedabad thrashed innocent labourers who had committed no crime. In Surat, foul abuses were hurled at women and clods of earth thrown at them. In Jalalpur, they have started using filthy language towards women. The women who endured all this deserve to be complimented. But what about men? When women are abused, it is not necessary for any man to come forward to fight on their behalf. One should not fall into a panic when abused by a drunkard or the proprietor of a liquor booth. All the same, men cannot remain idle

in such circumstances. They should go and meet the proprietor, plead with him courteously, collect people's signatures on statements condemning such conduct and publish them. The proprietors of liquor booths should also realize that they ought not to insult women. I am convinced that, if every case of such misconduct is brought to people's notice in courteous language and public feeling in this regard is explained to the proprietors, the latter will certainly desist from such misconduct. They should wisely give up on their own a business which is becoming less and less paying.

GIFT FROM A PARSI GIRL

I reproduce below, without any change, the letter which a Parsi girl has written to me:[1]

In just the same manner, Parsi children in Vapi gave Rs. 300 and one little girl among them asked whether she might join the struggle. When such innocent children show a desire for service, who can help believing that they are prompted by God? I see no insincerity in these girls.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

389. *ATTACK ON PRINTING-PRESSES*

I hope that no one will be frightened by the sword which the Viceroy has hung over the printing-presses.

It is the duty of the people to criticize the bureaucracy. It is our duty to wish that it be destroyed, to commit civil disobedience, to persuade Government servants to give up their jobs and the recruits to leave the army, and to persuade the people to refuse to pay taxes when they have the strength to do that. And yet, under the Government's law, every one of these acts is an offence. The new Ordinance notifies that the Government can seize any press which is guilty of any one of these offences. Every editor and printer of a newspaper should regard it as a sin to obey such a law. If at the present time, when the people have shed fear and are committing civil disobedience of immoral laws, editors of newspapers show weakness, they are bound to harm the cause of the country.

Any press, therefore, which is served with a notice to furnish security should refuse to do so and prefer to close down the

[1] The letter is not translated here. The girl, aged 7, had said she was sending Rs. 10 as her contribution to the cause.

paper instead. If all the presses act in this manner, the Government's Ordinance will remain unenforced.

In this struggle full advantage is being taken of the help which newspapers can give, but it does not at all depend on such help. People have realized their strength and know what they should do. So there is little at present which newspapers can give them. We may not get some news of distant places, but we can do without it. I hope, therefore, that no press will furnish security. If people observe this measure of self-restraint, they will find that the new Ordinance does not remain in force for long.

Newspapers can be brought out hand-written and, if people now feel a burning desire to work for the welfare of the counry, countless such newspapers can be brought out every day. If people really wish, they can make thousands of copies of hand-written papers. For instance, I may dictate the contents of one issue to fifty men at a time and distribute the copies to fifty persons. The latter should then produce fifty copies each with the help of their friends. We shall thus have 2,500 copies. If these 2,500 copies repeat the process once again, how many copies would we get? The poor at any rate would not object to doing this. All that is necessary is to create such zeal in them.

[From Gujarati]
Navajivan, 4-5-1930

390. CAUTION ABOUT KHADI

At the present time, when khadi is not easily available in the market, traders who love neither their country nor their own good name and whose only aim is to make money anyhow wish to secure khadi of some sort from any source, and do not hesitate to pass off mill-cloth as khadi, charging eight rupees for stuff worth two rupees. Shri Shankerlal Banker writes as under so that khadi-wearers may save themselves from such traders:[1]

I wholly agree with these views and I hope that no one will buy cloth sold as khadi from any store not certified by the Spinners' Association. Those who have fully understood the process by which boycott of foreign cloth is to be brought about and know that the boycott cannot succeed unless we produce khadi, should wait if khadi is not available and should not, in their haste, let themselves be deceived and wear as khadi cloth which is not really khadi.

[1] The letter is not translated here.

An effort is being made to stock khadi in khadi bhandars approved by the Spinners' Association. If people follow the new method which I have suggested, we shall have a huge pile of khadi in a few days. Those who wear khadi should spin and persuade others to spin. Those who are required to spin should not buy yarn from known sources in the market, but should increase the number of spinners. That is, they

1. should spin themselves;
2. should persuade their relations to spin;
3. should persuade their neighbours to spin;
4. should introduce new spinning-wheels in the neighbouring villages or persuade the residents to spin on the *takli*;
5. should induce pupils and teachers in schools under their influence to spin.

I have merely mentioned a few of the possible fields in which they can work. In this country of thirty crores, one can think of countless methods of inducing people to card and spin, and I have no doubt that if all men and women who have some experience of this work exert themselves, they will change the face of the country.

I appeal to greedy traders to exclude khadi from the sphere of their operations. They should not sell khadi at all; or, if they sell it, they should sell only pure khadi and be upright in their dealings. Let it not be said of khadi that when it becomes scarce its price goes up. When khadi has won its rightful place, there will be no scarcity of it. Cotton will be grown in one's own fields and the skill will be supplied by the family; how, then, will there be any scarcity of khadi? Today we do a business which cannot but ruin us. We have cotton in our homes but we sell it away to foreign countries and, though we can manufacture khadi with our own hands, we let the hands remain idle and wear cloth imported from foreign countries. Let us, at this time of national awakening and self-purification, give up our lethargy, work hard and, with the help of khadi, make a perfect success of the programme of foreign-cloth boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

391. KAKASAHEB

Kakasaheb has now followed Mahadev and it can be said, therefore, that *Navajivan* has made a good contribution to the struggle. Kaka, however, was connected recently more with the Vidyapith than with *Navajivan*. He was its Principal, and so his imprisonment brings credit to the Vidyapith. The Vidyapith's Chancellor is in jail, its Principal is in jail; its graduates, its students and teachers are candidates for imprisonment or for something better even than that. Can there be any better measure than this of the worth of the Vidyapith?

But a time is now coming when imprisonment, instead of earning praise, will earn ridicule. When a thing becomes common, it no longer requires compliments. That it is necessary to praise something is not a good sign. We desire that what we praise should become common and, when it becomes so, we cease praising it. There was a time when imprisonment was looked upon as deserving praise. Now praise is given to people who are beaten by the police or who face bullets. It is, therefore, probable that in a very short time people who are imprisoned will be regarded with suspicion. They will say: 'So and so was afraid of bullets and, therefore, courted imprisonment.' We can sense such an attitude in the cases of Mahadev and Kaka, and it is natural.

In truth we can go much further than this. No one should wish to go to jail or be beaten or hanged. We should be ready to face all that and more, if there is any 'more'. If a man to whom being hanged and being garlanded are the same does national work in his home, his doing so has the same value as—or even greater value than—his being hanged. There is great honour in being hanged. But ordinarily no one honours a person who is busy writing day after day, his head bent low, keeping accounts or courteously listening to people's complaints and helping them with advice. But often such work can have greater value than facing death.

Kaka's statement teaches something else too. The description of the atrocities being committed in the Kheda district is honest testimony. It gives us some idea of the *goonda* rule which prevails there. Kakasaheb was pained, and rightly, that some people ran away when assaulted. If no one runs away in the face of a police assault, such assaults will stop automatically.

When we get such strength, we shall soon get the strength to face bullets.

In his statement, Kaka has drawn our attention to one more fact. Though there is an atmosphere of non-violence in the Kheda district, everybody has not been able to assimilate the spirit of non-violence. Kaka has drawn up the rules laying down the limits of social boycott after observing the conditions in Kheda. Everyone should read them, understand them and abide by them. There can be no malice or anger in satyagrahi boycott.

[From Gujarati]

Navajivan, 4-5-1930

392. TELEGRAM TO MOTILAL NEHRU

JALALPUR,
May 4, 1930

I SUGGEST 10TH OR 13TH AS THE DAY FOR THE MEETING OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE, THE 12TH BEING MONDAY, THE DAY OF MY SILENCE. NO DOUBT THE EARLIER DATE WOULD BE BETTER AND I SUGGEST JALALPUR AS THE VENUE.

The Hindu, 6-5-1930

393. LETTER TO VICEROY

[May 4, 1930][1]

DEAR FRIEND,

God willing, it is my intention on . . . to set out for Dharasana and reach there with my companions on . . . and demand possession of the Salt Works. The public have been told that Dharasana is private property. This is mere camouflage. It is as effectively under Government control as the Viceroy's House. Not a pinch of salt can be removed without the previous sanction of the authorities.

It is possible for you to prevent this raid, as it has been playfully and mischievously called, in three ways:

1. by removing the salt tax;

[1] The letter was drafted on the eve of Gandhiji's arrest. He was arrested at 12.45 a.m. on May 5.

2. by arresting me and my party unless the country can, as I hope it will, replace everyone taken away;

3. by sheer goondaism unless every head broken is replaced, as I hope it will.

It is not without hesitation that the step has been decided upon. I had hoped that the Government would fight the civil resisters in a civilized manner. I could have had nothing to say if in dealing with the civil resisters the Government had satisfied itself with applying the ordinary processes of law. Instead, whilst the known leaders have been dealt with more or less according to the legal formality, the rank and file has been often savagely and in some cases even indecently assaulted. Had these been isolated cases, they might have been overlooked. But accounts have come to me from Bengal, Bihar, Utkal, U.P., Delhi and Bombay confirming the experiences of Gujarat of which I have ample evidence at my disposal. In Karachi, Peshawar and Madras the firing would appear to have been unprovoked and unnecessary. Bones have been broken, private parts have been squeezed for the purpose of making volunteers give up, to the Government valueless, to the volunteers precious salt. At Mathura an Assistant Magistrate is said to have snatched the national flag from a ten-year-old boy. The crowd that demanded restoration of the flag thus illegally seized is reported to have been mercilessly beaten back. That the flag was subsequently restored betrayed a guilty conscience. In Bengal there seem to have been only a few prosecutions and assaults about salt, but unthinkable cruelties are said to have been practised in the act of snatching flags from volunteers. Paddy fields are reported to have been burnt, eatables forcibly taken. A vegetable market in Gujarat has been raided because the dealers would not sell vegetables to officials. These acts have taken place in front of crowds who, for the sake of Congress mandate have submitted without retaliation. I ask you to believe the accounts given by men pledged to truth. Repudiation even by high officials has, as in the Bardoli case, often proved false. The officials, I regret to have to say, have not hesitated to publish falsehoods to the people even during the last five weeks. I take the following samples from Government notices issued from Collectors' offices in Gujarat:

> 1. Adults use five pounds of salt per year, therefore pay three annas per year as tax. . . . If Government removed the monopoly people will have to pay higher prices and in addition make good to the Government the loss sustained by the removal of the monopoly. . . . The salt you take from the seashore is not eatable, therefore the Government destroys it.

2. Mr. Gandhi says that Government has destroyed hand-spinning in this country, whereas everybody knows that this is not true, because throughout the country, there is not a village where hand-spinning of cotton is not going on. Moreover in every province cotton spinners are shown superior methods and are provided with better instruments at less price and are thus helped by Government.

3. Out of every five rupees of the debt that the Government has incurred rupees four have been beneficially spent.

I have taken these three sets of statements from three different leaflets. I venture to suggest that every one of these statements is demonstrably false. The daily consumption of salt by an adult is three times the amount stated and therefore the poll tax that the salt tax undoubtedly is is at least 9 annas per head per year. And this tax is levied from man, woman, child and domestic cattle irrespective of age and health.

It is a wicked falsehood to say that every village has a spinning-wheel, and that the spinning movement is in any shape or form encouraged or supported by the Government. Financiers can better dispose of the falsehood that four out of every five rupees of the public debt is used for the benefit of the public. But those falsehoods are mere samples of what people know is going on in everyday contact with the Government. Only the other day a Gujarati poet, a brave man, was convicted on perjured official evidence in spite of his emphatic statement that at the time mentioned he was sleeping soundly in another place.

Now for instances of official inactivities. Liquor dealers have assaulted pickets admitted by officials to have been peaceful and sold liquor in contravention of regulations. The officials have taken no notice either of the assaults or the illegal sales of liquor. As to the assaults, though they are known to everybody, they may take shelter under the plea that they have received no complaints.

And now you have sprung upon the country a Press Ordinance surpassing any hitherto known in India. You have found a short cut through the law's delay in the matter of the trial of Bhagat Singh and others by doing away with the ordinary procedure. Is it any wonder if I call all these official activities and inactivities a veiled form of Martial Law? Yet this is only the fifth week of the struggle!

Before, then, the reign of terrorism that has just begun overwhelms India, I feel that I must take a bolder step, and if possible divert your wrath in a cleaner if more drastic channel. You may not know the things that I have described. You may not even now believe in them. I can but invite your serious attention to them.

Anyway I feel that it would be cowardly on my part not to invite you to disclose to the full the leonine paws of authority so that the people who are suffering tortures and destruction of their property may not feel that I, who had perhaps been the chief party inspiring them to action that has brought to light the Government in its true colours, had left any stone unturned to work out the satyagraha programme as fully as it was possible under given circumstances.

For, according to the science of satyagraha, the greater the repression and lawlessness on the part of authority, the greater should be the suffering courted by the victims. Success is the certain result of suffering of the extremest character, voluntarily undergone.

I know the dangers attendant upon the methods adopted by me. But the country is not likely to mistake my meaning. I say what I mean and think. And I have been saying for the last fifteen years in India and outside for twenty years more and repeat now that the only way to conquer violence is through non-violence pure and undefiled. I have said also that every violent act, word and even thought interferes with the progress of non-violent action. If in spite of such repeated warnings people will resort to violence, I must disown responsibility save such as inevitably attaches to every human being for the acts of every other human being. But the question of responsibility apart, I dare not postpone action on any cause whatsoever, if non-violence is the force the seers of the world have claimed it to be and if I am not to belie my own extensive experience of its working.

But I would fain avoid the further step. I would therefore ask you to remove the tax which many of your illustrious countrymen have condemned in unmeasured terms and which, as you could not have failed to observe, has evoked universal protest and resentment expressed in civil disobedience. You may condemn civil disobedience as much as you like. Will you prefer violent revolt to civil disobedience? If you say, as you have said, that the civil disobedience must end in violence, history will pronounce the verdict that the British Government, not bearing because not understanding non-violence, goaded human nature to violence which it could understand and deal with. But in spite of the goading I shall hope that God will give the people of India wisdom and strength to withstand every temptation and provocation to violence.

If, therefore, you cannot see your way to remove the salt tax, and remove the prohibition on private salt-making, I must reluct-

antly commence the march adumbrated in the opening paragraph of my letter.

I am,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Young India, 8-5-1930

394. LETTER TO DR. SYED MAHMUD

P. O. JALALPUR,
May 4, 1930

DEAR DR. MAHMUD,

I was delighted to receive your frank letter. I would have been disappointed if you had concealed your opinion.

I do not plead guilty. I was not indifferent. I was most considerate to every Mussalman who came to me. I spent hours with several who had come to see me. This is no matter to parade about. I simply acted according to my wont. There was nothing special about it. But with you I stood on no ceremony. I felt that it was no business of mine to pay attention to you. I expected you to tackle me on any and every point that called for criticism or alteration. You may not know that to those who know me and whom I know and work with I am most inattentive. In no other way can I possibly go through the work before me. I wonder if I have made my point clear and given you satisfaction. If not, please tackle me again.

I have not yet got your appeal which you said you were sending. But I have seen a reference to it. Nevertheless I am concocting some formula and if I succeed I shall publish it in *Y. I.*

I expect to see you at W.C.[1] meeting if I am still free.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

[PS.]

This was written at three places: at the camp, in the train and finally at Surat.

From a photostat: G.N. 5082

[1] The Working Committee of the Congress; *vide* "Telegram to Motilal Nehru", p. 389.

395. LETTER TO PADMAVATI

May 4, 1930

CHI. PADMAVATI,

I was very glad to read your letter. I do remember our conversation. Keep the pledge which you have taken. Give yourself wholly to the work there. Go outside and work fearlessly. If you do so other women will also come out. Forget the difference between Gujaratis, Madrasis, etc. Like Draupadi, have trust in God and give up all fear.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 4587

396. INTERVIEW TO J. B. KRIPALANI[1]

May 4, 1930

Mahatmaji had anticipated the situation which had arisen today. He had fully expected that his lieutenants would be taken from him and he was glad to observe that the younger folks had kept up their spirits and were yearning for more work. He was, however, most anxious that this energy should be harnessed to the utmost in constructive work. If the Government did not arrest the volunteers, Mahatmaji felt they should engage themselves in constructive work, such as producing more yarn and carrying on intensive propaganda to popularize the charkha and the *takli*. He also wanted them to learn to live the camp life, and to live like soldiers. The soldiers did their own cleaning and polishing and engaged in mock fights and other healthy sports and the volunteers also should do so. Volunteers should not lose sight of drilling. Discipline, Mahatmaji felt, would be half the battle won.

Mahatmaji felt that it was the Government game not to arrest the rank and file of law-breakers but to tire them out. He wanted the volunteers not to play into the Government's hands by losing their patience. He wanted them to carry on the work in every branch of national regeneration, namely, production of khaddar and more khaddar to replace foreign cloth. He also wanted

[1] Based on a report of the interview. J. B. Kripalani had met Gandhiji a few hours before the latter's arrest.

the volunteers to engage themselves in an intensive prohibition programme by propaganda, picketing and felling of date trees. It was not necessary that women alone should do all this, especially in the United Provinces and Bihar, where there are very few women. In provinces like Bihar and U.P., Mahatmaji wanted that women should be helped by men. He felt that the initiative in these provinces should be taken by men.

. . . Mahatmaji also felt that the people could select other laws also to break wherever they could conveniently do so without prejudice to the salt laws. Mahatmaji also felt that this should be the case particularly in the provinces in which salt could not be produced on an economic basis, or where there were no facilities to manufacture salt. Mahatmaji had in view in this connection, the Chaukidari Tax in Bihar and the Forest Laws in the Central Provinces.

Mahatmaji also felt . . . that Dharasana would supply many volunteers with work, as volunteers from other parts of the country might be required if the Government were to effect the arrest of the "raiders". Mahatmaji saw the possibility of another Gurukabag at Dharasana. He also felt that the stage had come when those who could do constructive work need not court jail. If the present enthusiasm were to be utilized for the lasting good of the country, it must be directed into constructive channels even as the electric current generated by a dynamo.

Regarding picketing, Acharya Kripalani said that he had narrated to Mahatmaji his experiences of picketing of shops, which contained both foreign and swadeshi cloth. He explained how some merchants dumped on the market mill-cloth as khaddar. In reply, Mahatmaji said that he had expected that picketing would not be quite effective but it was necessary to create an atmosphere for swadeshi, which could succeed only by the production of khaddar on a mass scale. Mill agents, he said, could help if they co-operated with the political workers, and themselves helped in the production of khaddar by refraining from producing cloth below a particular count, which could be left to hand-spinning.

In this connection, Mahatmaji said he had many talks with Seth Ambalal Sarabhai and Mr. Birla. Mr. Birla had understood his point of view, and had decided to open a khadi organization near his village in Marwar under his own supervision. Seth Ambalal Sarabhai also had very nearly understood his point, but it looked as if other mill-owners only wanted to use him (Gandhiji) as their advertising agent. Mahatmaji was apprehensive that unless there was extensive spinning taken on hand at once the swadeshi movement would fail in the absence of production and it would be possible for merchants to cheat the public. When once the public discerned that they were paying higher prices for doubtful stuff, their confidence in the national workers would be so shaken that they would cease to listen to them and even would fight them. Therefore, the only possible way for the mill-owners to fight Lancashire and Japan

was to co-operate with the nationalist workers by refusing to spin yarn below a particular count and, what was also equally important, by controlling the prices.

The Hindu, 14-5-1930

397. SPEECH AT SURAT

May 4, 1930

It is not by means of the power of intellect that people are able to observe vows they take.[1] There must be a thorough change of heart and faith in God, which alone could give them the necessary strength. I have been defeated in prohibition campaign as a man and therefore I have asked women to help the movement. If anybody could melt the heart of drunkards it is woman. I have often asked Ministers in charge of Excise Department to put a stop to drink traffic. They have replied that I must find out for them new sources of revenue. I have told them to stop giving education to boys but they would not adopt the suggestion. If in swaraj we have liquor traffic, our President will have to face a similar problem afterwards. We are also not as adventurous as Americans, who are successfully making America dry. We have become emasculated and therefore I appeal to you to tackle this question first.

The present time is the most opportune and auspicious. I appeal to you with all earnestness to observe the vows you have taken. Do not deceive me; if you are unable to give up drinking, say so openly; I will congratulate you even then. My own son confesses honestly that he is not able to give up the drinking habit, and I congratulate him on his truthfulness. Even so you must be truthful so that I may not miscalculate. God alone will help him, my son, and you, who are unable to give up drink. If you deceive me, you deceive your community and the whole country.

Referring to the insult offered to some women picketers at some places Gandhiji said that if they had not considered women as low creatures working for men and as objects of their lust then nobody could have dared to raise a finger against them.

But even if they will stone them, they will continue picketing. "Pussyfoot" lost his eye in anti-drink propaganda to make America dry, but did not give up his campaign. India will have to

[1] Panchayats of Surat city had passed resolutions asking members of their respective communities not to drink liquor.

answer for every insult offered to women. This is my last throw; and I am out to lose my all. But all this I do for the liberation of India. If one district is ready, we will surely have swaraj. You must purify yourself, you must be industrious; there is no other way for achieving swaraj.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1930

398. THE PROBLEM OF MINORITIES

[Before *May 5, 1930*][1]

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sent the following note[2] to Mahadev Desai on March 16th. Mahadev Desai being too busy was unable to attend to it. It has now been forwarded to me, and I have no hesitation in presenting to the public the President's views on the vexed question of minorities. It derives added significance from the fact of his incarceration.

Young India, 15-5-1930

399. NOTE ON J. B. PENNINGTON'S LETTER[3]

[Before *May 5, 1930*]

Mr. Pennington's argument cannot appeal to one like me who has experience. A mountain of argument is dissolved before one touch of experience. Great as is my regard for the late Sir T. Madhav Rao, I must be pardoned for not endorsing his encomium of British rule. I shared the deceased statesman's views myself at one time. But bitter experience corrected them. Every one of the arguments advanced by Mr. Pennington has been answered in these pages.

Young India, 8-5-1930

[1] This was evidently written before Gandhiji's arrest on May 5.
[2] *Vide* Appendix III.
[3] The letter is not reproduced here.

400. LETTER TO SATYAGRAHA COMMITTEE, BOMBAY

[Before *May 5, 1930*]

Friends from Bombay have been to me asking me to lead a raiding party from there instead of from Karadi, assuming of course that a raid is to be decided upon. I should be proud and consider it a privilege to lead it provided that certain preliminary conditions are fulfilled. I observe that there is a great deal of misunderstanding about this contemplated raid. It has arisen because of the use of the word "raid". Now all my speeches in Gujarat are invariably delivered in Gujarati. The word "raid" therefore is not the one I had used. I admit, however, that it is a legitimate translation of the original. But my audience knew the original word "dhad" used to alliterate with "dhar" in "Dharasana", was used playfully. Fortunately or unfortunately even for a non-violent war military expressions have got to be used. But even as nobody is deceived by the use of such military expressions, no one need be perturbed over the use of the word "raid" when it is to be civil, non-violent or satyagrahi. The use of that potent adjective alters the whole colour of the transaction. But however innocent the raid, if it ever comes into being, may be, it will be fraught with consequences perhaps far more serious than those flowing from a violent raid. Those, therefore, who would join the contemplated raid have to satisfy some test, and since the battle is meant not merely for the removal of the salt tax but for establishing Purna Swaraj, the conditions have to be in keeping with the objective. They are three: 1. Observance of complete discipline. 2. Complete abstention from drink under a permanent pledge. 3. Wearing of hand-spun khaddar also under a permanent pledge and actual spinning on the *takli* for one hour per day except when spinning is made impossible through want of time or capacity. If Bombay produces a hundred thousand such men I should lead them without the slightest hesitation. I know that the citizens of Bombay will not laugh at my conditions nor will they consider them impossible of fulfilment. The only difficulty they might feel will be about the *takli*. Surely if a hundred thousand men in Bombay have the will *takli* spinning is child's play. Sustained work from day to day may be a task for easy-going citizens of Bombay but Freedom's battle has never been won by easy-

going people. No one need be irritated against me for maintaining these conditions because they are not in any sense obligatory; they are meant to be a consideration in a voluntary contract. It is open to the citizens of Bombay to reject my terms and do as they please. Rejection then of terms will not make them less Congressmen than they are today.

The Bombay Chronicle, 5-5-1930

401. ARREST AT MIDNIGHT

KARADI,
May 5, 1930

The Magistrate proceeded to Gandhiji's hut and woke him up.[1] "I have a warrant for your arrest, Mr. Gandhi," said the Magistrate. Gandhiji asked politely:

I am not surprised, but will you read out the warrant to me?

The Magistrate complied with this request and read the following which was signed by Sir Frederick Sykes, Governor of Bombay.

"Whereas the Government view with alarm the activities of Mr. M. K. Gandhi, they direct that he should be placed under restraint under Regulation 25 of 1827 and suffer imprisonment during the pleasure of the Government and be immediately removed to the Yeravda Central Jail."

Gandhiji was smiling when the warrant was being read. He said:

I am prepared to accompany you, but will you allow me to have a wash and clean my teeth?

"With pleasure," said the Magistrate.

In the meantime, the whole Ashram was up, and everyone was anxious to have a parting 'darshan' of Gandhiji. Having finished his wash, Gandhiji came out of the cottage to say his prayers. The whole Ashram knelt down to recite the prayers while the police officers watched. Gandhiji himself led the chorus. He then collected his papers and gave them in charge of a volunteer whom he had chosen as Captain during his incarceration.

The Bombay Chronicle, 6-5-1930

[1] The District Magistrate accompanied by the Superintendent of Police and a party of 20 armed constables arrived at Gandhiji's camp at 12.45 a.m., when Gandhiji was asleep.

402. INTERVIEW TO "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH"

BORIVLI,
May 5, 1930

Gandhi seemed surprised when he saw my companion and myself, for both of us were known to him. He greeted us in the most friendly manner.

"Have you a farewell message you would like to give, Mr. Gandhi?" I asked. He replied:

Shall I give it now or shall I wait?

"You had better give it now," I replied.

He paused, seeming to be at a loss for words and somewhat dazed by events. Then he answered:

Tell the people of America to study the issues closely and to judge them on their merits.

"Have you any bitterness or ill will towards anyone?" I asked.

None whatsoever; I had long expected to be arrested.

Do you think your arrest will lead to great disturbances throughout India?

No, I do not; in any case I can honestly say that I have taken every possible precaution to avert disturbances.

Then you anticipate no troubles?

The Mahatma hesitated for a moment and then replied:

I hope not; I have done my best to prevent them.

At this point the law intervened. Inspector Gordon stepped forward, saying; "Now, Mr. Gandhi, if you are ready, please." Only one person accompanied Gandhi from the train, a doctor of the Indian Medical Service, who remained silent in the background. He now took his seat alongside the prophet, with Inspector Gordon sitting by the chauffeur. . . .[1]

The Hindu, 27-5-1930

[1] Gandhiji was escorted in a train to Borivli, a suburban station of Bombay, and from there taken by car to Yeravda. *Vide* Appendix IV.

403. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE[1]

YERAVDA,
May 10, 1930

DEAR MAJOR DOYLE,

Having thought over our conversation, I have come to the conclusion that I must avoid, as much as possible, the special privileges offered to me by the Government.

Books and newspapers I do not want through the Government. Of newspapers, I would send for these if permitted:

The Bombay Chronicle,
The Times of India,
Indian Social Reformer,
Modern Review,
Young India and *Navajivan* (Hindi and Gujarati).

If these are allowed, I take it that they will not be mutilated.

The Government have suggested Rs. 100 as monthly allowance. I hope I shall need nothing near it. I know that my food is a costly affair. It grieves me, but it has become a physical necessity with me.

Neither you nor the Government will, I hope, consider me ungrateful for not accepting all the facilities offered to me. It is an obsession (if it is to be so called) with me that we are all living at the expense of the toiling semi-starved millions. I know too that the saving caused by my economy can but be an infinitesimal drop in the limitless ocean of waste I see going on round me, whether in prison or outside of it—much more out of it. I admit nevertheless it is given to man only to do very little. He dare not omit to do that little.

Again, I hold radical views about prison treatment.

I have never taken kindly to the classification recently made. I hold that a murderer is just as much entitled to have his needs supplied as any other prisoner. What is therefore needed is not a mechanical makeshift, but a human adjustment.

One thing I must mention. I do feel the necessity of contact

[1] The text of this was communicated by Doyle to the Home Department on May 12.

with the satyagrahi prisoners who are in this jail. It is wholly unnecessary, it is cruel, to isolate me from them.

Yours truly,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(5)-A; also S.N. 19971

404. LETTER TO MIRABEHN[1]

YERAVDA,
May 12, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Yours is the first letter I take up to write from the jail and that on the silence day.

I have been quite happy and have been making up for arrears of rest. The nights here are cool and as I am permitted to sleep right under the sky, I have refreshing sleep. About the change made in the manner of taking the diet, you will learn from my general letter.

It was a great treat to receive the wheel so thoughtfully sent and with things so carefully packed in it. The carding-bow, the Superintendent tells me, was lost on the way by the friends who brought it. I am in no hurry for it as you have sent me a liberal quantity of slivers.

I do not know who sent me the books. They are not what I wanted. They were to be sent back to the library. The list of books that were to be sent to me when I was arrested was given by me to Kusum. But I suppose she left the Ashram without giving instructions to anybody as to what was to be sent or, if she did, she gave wrong instructions. However this mistake does not matter much as I do not miss the books just now. I am giving as much time as I can to the *takli*. I find that I have no speed on it at all. I hardly get thirty rounds in one hour. For the first day I gave nearly seven hours to nearly reach 160 rounds. I was washed out at the end of the performance. I must learn the trick of getting more speed. I am therefore in no hurry to go to he books.

I hope you had good news from mother about her health and otherwise.

[1] This was actually posted on May 16; *vide* p. 412.

The prison officials are all kind and attentive.
Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I believe it will be possible for me to receive the Ashram post. You may therefore send a weekly letter together with the Ashram post.

From the original: C.W. 5395. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9629

405. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

[*May 12, 1930*][1]

CHI. NARANDAS,

Show this letter to all, so that I need not write about the same things to everyone.

Most probably I shall be able to write to you and you will be able to send a reply once a week.

I keep excellent health. I get up in the morning and go through the routine according to the Ashram rules. There is a light in the room so that, according to my rule, I can read chapters from the *Gita*. I have been resting after many days of fatigue and, therefore, must be sleeping for probably two or three hours during the day. Generally I sleep at eight in the morning and twelve at noon. I have resumed eating oranges, which I had given up during the march. On the first day I took cold milk, and I have continued it for the time being. I take about three seers. Probably I shall have to reduce the quantity a little. Or I may have some of it made into curds. In the morning, too, I drink cold water instead of hot water. This I do only as an experiment. The authorities have of course supplied the facilities for heating water, etc. If, however, I can preserve my health with cold water, why should I go to the trouble of heating it? I have given up honey. Even for bathing I have been using cold water, but I intend to change over to hot water from tomorrow. The goat is brought before me and milked in my presence, so that the milk is as clean as I would like it to be. If cold milk does not suit me, I will certainly heat it. They have given me one person to clean the utensils and do other work. The diet includes dates and raisins too. No one need worry in the least about my food. Write to Jamnabehn

[1] From *Bapuna Patro – 9: Shri Narandas Gandhine*, Part I

and tell her that no one need take the trouble to send me any fruit. I shall get from here everything I may require. Tell Anasuyabehn that she need not pay any money here, as she used to do on the previous occasion. It is not at all necessary to do so. We have no time, ought to have none, to take unnecessary care of anyone. We have no money, ought to have none, to throw away.

The air here is considered to be good. I sleep in the open as I used to do there.

If you have still not received the money from Gordhanbhai Patel, remind him to send it.

I do spinning regularly. I make a skein of what I spin each day and get someone to blow and spray water over it. Send me *Vanatshastra* and *Takli-shikshak* along with other books. I never ascertained my speed with the *takli* when I was outside. I tried to ascertain it here and found that I hardly spin 30 rounds in one hour. I ought to be ashamed of this speed. It means that I went on spinning but did not learn the secret of doing it well. I can now master it only by experimenting. I, therefore, give plenty of time to the work. I practise on a bamboo *takli*. It is necessary for everyone of us to acquire complete control over the *takli*. It is easy to do so if there is someone to teach us. I saw children in Karadi who could draw out thread with playful ease. All that is necessary is that they should feel interest in the work. In Wardha there are persons who have reached the speed of 80 rounds in half an hour. Kanti Parekh told me that he spun that many. The people there who have learnt to spin on the *takli* should ascertain their speed; let me know what it is in each case.

How is Purushottam? How is Kanu?

Give me news about Khushalbhai. I had written to him.

Is Mathew at peace?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8110. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

406. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

YERAVDA,
Silence Day, May 12, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

You had stopped writing to me. But I knew that you did not write because you wished to save my time and also because you yourself had no time. Nevertheless, I regularly enquired after you and got news of you. I like your self-restraint very much. I had not expected it from you. You should now write to me every week without fail.

You will get news about me from my letter to Narandas.

To whom did Kusum hand over my things when she left the Ashram? Did she entrust to you the books which were to be sent to me in prison if I was arrested? Among them were the *Ramayana*, the Koran, etc. Inquire about the matter and if you find the books easily, send them to me. I am in no hurry to get them.

Write to me and tell me who remain in the Ashram and what work they are doing. What is your own special work?

No one should worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

Who is in charge of the library?

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6669. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

407. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA,
Silence Day, May 12, 1930

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I hope you do not worry. I often think about you. Write to me. Did Nath pay a visit there? For how many persons do you have to cook now? I am not writing today to the other women.

You will get news about me from my letter to Narandas. Inquire from Narahari and let me know how Kamalnayan, who lives in the Vidyapith, is faring.

Who has been specially asked to look after Hari and Vimla? How is Lakshmi? The manner in which we look after Hari and Vimla will be a test of our love.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3083

408. LETTER TO ASHRAM CHILDREN

YERAVDA PALACE,
Silence Day [May 12, 1930][1]

BIRDS,

Birds are real birds when they can fly without wings. With wings any creature can fly. If you, who have no wings, can fly, you will feel no fear at all. I will teach you how to fly in this manner. See, I have no wings and still I fly every day and come to you, for in my mind I am in your midst. There is Vimla, and here are Hari, Manu and Dharmakumar. You also can fly with your minds and feel that you are with me. A child who can think does not require much help from a teacher. A teacher may guide us, but cannot give us thoughts. Thoughts arise in our own minds. A child that behaves well will always have good thoughts. Who, amongst you, does not pray properly with Prabhubhai?[2]

[1] The Monday before May 18, 1930, the date of the source

[2] The name is omitted in the source. This is taken from *Young India*, 22-5-1930, where Mirabehn has translated this letter.

Write a letter to me, signed by all of you. Any child who cannot sign may draw a swastika.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

409. LETTER TO BALBHADRA[1]

[On or after *May 12, 1930*][2]

CHI. BUDDHICHAKRA,

It seems the name Buddhichakra has clung to you. It is not a bad name. One whose *buddhi*[3] is like a *chakra*[4] may also be a person of perfect character, for a circle is a perfect thing. It has no beginning and no end as a straight line has. Moreover, he who lives with his mind turned inward should be regarded as a person whose intellect is like a circle. That is the true intellect which turns our mind inward.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

410. LETTER TO KASTURBA GANDHI[5]

[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

Take this letter as meant for all. How good it was that I met you all on Sunday evening and accompanied you back as far as your camp? I was very happy that I did so. God is showering His grace on me. Let all the women write to me. All the letters should be put in one envelope. Most likely I shall get those letters. If I don't get them, it will not matter. Do not feel nervous, any of you. All the verses in the section of women's prayer were purposely selected. The very first verse teaches us a great deal. The last three verses of the *Gita* which have been included sum up the

[1] *Vide* Vol. XLIV, p. 139.
[2] Gandhiji started writing letters from jail on May 12, 1930.
[3] Intellect
[4] Wheel
[5] The source does not mention the addressee, but Mirabehn, writing in *Young India*, 22-5-1930, says that this was addressed to Kasturba Gandhi.

whole prayer. They are like the *kalasha* on the top of a temple which adds lustre to the temple and completes its beauty. I hope the verses in this prayer are recited every morning with careful attention to their meaning.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

411. EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS TO ASHRAM INMATES[1]

[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

1

This letter is for all the girls. Do all of you live as you should? Do you work? Do you think Gangabehn would give you a certificate? Have you kept up the habit of rising early? If you have given it up, resume it.

Blessings from
BAPU

2

CHI.

I was often told that you were impatient to go outside the Ashram and work. You are now of an age when you can understand things. We should do with the fullest sense of responsibility any work which falls to our lot. What difference does it make whether you go outside to work or remain in the Ashram?

Blessings from
BAPU

3

CHI.

I hope you had calmed down soon afterwards. I had not thought that you were such a nervous type. But do not worry. Are Kasturbehn and you still together or have you separated? You should not feel it necessary to remain with her all the time. One should learn to be independent and take up responsibility on oneself.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

[1] Addressees are not known.

412. LETTER TO KUSUM DESAI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
[On or after *May 12, 1930*]

CHI. KUSUM (SENIOR),

Does your being senior mean that you are counterfeit or genuine? You have left the Ashram but do not forsake the path of service. You can write to me. May God bless you.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 1799

413. LETTER TO RAMABEHN JOSHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [On or after *May 12, 1930*][1]

CHI. RAMA,

I used to be happy to see you. I had not thought that you would show such courage and fortitude. How is Mahalakshmi? How are the two Dahibehns?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 5321

[1] The year is given in *Bapuna Patro – 7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine.*

414. EXTRACT FROM LETTER TO DEVDAS GANDHI[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 13, 1930

CHI.

Since I do not know where you are, I write to you at the Ashram address. There is God to worry for us all and we need not, therefore, worry on account of one another. You know about me, that ultimately I never come to harm. God always clears my path. Where else in the world would you find a sweeper like Him? If he did not always purify us of our mental uncleanliness the world would have become unbearably filthy long ago. Outward filth is only a sign of the uncleanliness in our minds. If the inner uncleanliness remains, what does it help however completely we wash away the outward filth? I at any rate derive much strength from this thought. . . .[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

From a microfilm of the Gujarati *Ashram Samachar*, 18-5-1930: S.N. 16834-a

415. LETTER TO VICEROY

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
May 18, 1930[3]

H. E. THE VICEROY OF INDIA

DEAR FRIEND,

The authorities having permitted the use of newspapers, I am able somewhat to follow the course of events in the country. I should fail in my duty if I did not express my opinion on your latest statement.[4]

[1] Mirabehn, in *Young India*, 22-5-1930, says that this was addressed to Devdas Gandhi.

[2] As in the source

[3] The letter was drafted on May 12, finalized on May 18 and handed to the Superintendent, Major Martin, the following day.

[4] On May 12, announcing that steps were being taken to hold the Round Table Conference in October, the Viceroy had declared: "Neither my Government nor His Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events

You seem to ignore the simple fact that disobedience ceases to be such immediately masses of people resort to it. Do you not see that hundreds of men who have been known for their peaceful nature, who have an unbroken record of service to their credit[1] and whose integrity is beyond suspicion are imprisoned? They are no law-breakers; they are no haters of the English. And what of the most peaceful demonstration of thousands of simple villagers who are by instinct the most law-abiding? To describe the movement of such men and women as lawlessness is, in my opinion, doing violence to the language. The very motive which is the essence of crime is lacking. It is the noblest of motives which[2] takes away men like the hoary-headed Abbas Tyabji from their soft ease to court the hardships of a jail life.[3]

You protest your affection for India. I believe in your profession. But I deny the correctness of your diagnosis of India's disease. The best constitution that can be devised will fail to bring real contentment and peace unless the grievances on which public attention is concentrated are immediately removed. The salt tax cannot remain. The liquor revenue must go. The foreign cloth importation which has produced a partial paralysis of the village life must be stopped. Have you not noted the strength of popular feeling in these matters? Or are the hundreds of thousands of men and women who are taking part in the movement wicked-minded or misled or fools and the English officials the best judges of what is good for India?

If I am not mistaken, you will find the spirit of the people to be proof against repression, no matter how severe[4] it may be. You will not coerce millions of people into subjection for all time. India must not live for England. She must live for herself, so as to enable her to make her contribution to the world's progress. As a slave nation she is a mere burden on earth because it is a false life. No Round Table Conference can therefore be of any avail, unless you see things from our standpoint and, leaving coercion, rely simply on carrying conviction. Even those who you think

---

from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged to announce in November last."

[1] The draft did not have the words: "to their credit".

[2] The draft has "that".

[3] Abbas Tyabji was arrested on May 12.

[4] The draft here has "however severe".

are with you are with the Congressmen so far as wants are concerned.

I remain,
Your sincere friend,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(34), pp. 41-2; also S.N. 19972

416. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

Unrevised *May 18, 1930*

CHI. MIRA,

You must be in possession of my last silence day letter. It was posted only on Friday I fear. This should go earlier. It is now after 8 p.m. Sunday. I take silence at 3 p.m. on Sundays as a rule. Of my life here you will learn from my general letter. I have more than doubled the quantity of yarn spun. It is nearly 400 rounds on the wheel and 55 to 60 on the *takli*. It is all well moistened and properly packed. For the wheel yarn it is 5 strands of 75 C.A.[1] put together daily. The *takli* yarn is one strand of nearly 160 rounds. It will be interesting to know what strength I am spinning. The whole performance takes up 6 hours daily. I do not grudge the time. I am not doing much reading this time nor do I want to collect a lot of books as I did last time. I should like to perfect my spinning if I can. Presently I shall have to card. I observe I have still 10 days' supply of slivers. All this news is not given in the letter to N.

And how is Reynolds getting on? How is he taking the heat? My love to him. In your weekly letter you may give all the news that is not political.

I think I told you last time that I had started translating the verses and hymns in the hymn book. I am nearing the end of the morning verses.

I hope you are keeping perfect health. You will not overstrain yourself on any account.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5396. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9630

[1] The letter as published in *Bapu's Letters to Mira* here has "rounds".

417. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

Silence Day [*May 19, 1930*][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

I remember every day all the women and the children, but I do not worry about anything. Here, too, I keep myself busy and do not remain unoccupied even for a minute. That way alone can I have peace of mind. I can see God only through work. The Lord says that He is ever working without taking a moment's rest. How else, then, can we know Him except through work?

If you do not read the translation of the *Gita* and if you have time, read it. If, however, you have no time, you need not read it. Devotion to duty is the living *Gita*; the other one is merely a book.

I have written to as many persons as I could. But I do think of even those men and women to whom I have not written. How can I possibly write to all? I write to those who I feel specially need some words of comfort from me.

How is your son-in-law?

Does Nath visit the Ashram? When you write to him, tell him that I often remember him. He ought to visit the Ashram occasionally.

Blessings from
BAPU

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8749. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

[1] From *Bapuna Patro - 6: G. S. Gangabehnne*

418. LETTER TO MANIBEHN PATEL

May 19, 1930

CHI. MANI,

God will be your shepherd. I remember you daily. I hope you are no longer depressed.

Blessings from
BAPU

CHI. MANIBEHN PATEL
NADIAD

[From Gujarati]

Bapuna Patro—4: Manibehn Patelne, p. 71

419. LETTER TO NARAHARI PARIKH

May 20, 1930

CHI. NARAHARI,

I do not know if your tongue dances, but I see that your pen has been dancing. How many benefits flow from my living in the jail palace?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: S.N. 9053

420. LETTER TO PREMLILA THACKERSEY

YERAVDA JAIL,
May 20, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I can do a little sewing on the machine. While I have time here, I wish to learn it well. The authorities have permitted me to secure a machine. Since you are helping some women to earn their livelihood, I believe that you will certainly have some machines, and hence I trouble you with this request. If you have

them and if you can spare one, kindly send it. If you don't have any, please let me know. I shall get your letter.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

LADY PREMLILA VITHALDAS THACKERSEY
POONA

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 4813. Courtesy: Premlila Thackersey; also G.N. 71

421. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

May 20, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

What shall I say to comfort you? God will assuredly protect you. You can write to me. I should indeed like you to do so. Tell Kamalabehn[1] to take care of her health. Convey my respectful greetings to Swarup Rani[2]. My blessings to Sarup[3], Krishna[4]. If Jayaprakash is outside convey my blessings to him. Write to me at the Ashram address. I keep fine health. I eat the same food here that I did outside.

Do not worry about me.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3388

422. INTERVIEW TO "DAILY HERALD"[5]

May 20, 1930

Our conversation began with a general exchange of ideas on British and Indian politics. I then asked him to explain frankly what he meant by Independence. Did he demand Independence as ultimately implied in Dominion Status? Or did he insist on separation from the British Commonwealth?

I have always heard that in England Dominion Status is understood to mean Independence, but by the Indian authorities

[1] Wife of Jawaharlal Nehru
[2] Wife of Motilal Nehru
[3] Vijayalakshmi Pandit
[4] Krishna Hutheesingh
[5] The interviewer was George Slocombe.

it is not so understood. Therefore when Independence is resisted by them in contradistinction to Dominion Status we naturally asked for Independence.

When I asked him if he thought that Canada and South Africa were not in all essential respects independent, he acknowledged they were. He added significantly:

But we are not offered a status like theirs.

I asked him if he had calculated all the perils involved in his campaign of civil disobedience. He replied that he had:

I have taken what has been called a mad risk. But it is a justifiable risk. No great end has been achieved without incurring danger.

Nevertheless he was gravely alarmed at the violence said to have been committed at Sholapur. He grieved at the death of two policemen killed there, but he was convinced the violence had not come from the civil resisters. They had, he said, been ordered to suffer everything, even violence, without offering resistance.

I asked if he thought that in a struggle between law-breakers and the authorities Government could acknowledge defeat, and Gandhi smiled. He said:

I am an optimist. In forty years of struggle I have frequently been told I was attempting the impossible, but invariably I proved the contrary.

Nevertheless he did not refuse to negotiate.

My life has been nothing but a record of settlements. If the Government is in earnest in its desire to satisfy India it should grant the eleven points demanded in my last letter to the Viceroy.

I can only judge the tree by its fruits. Until we get satisfaction we shall fight on until the end, and give our lives if need be in the cause of Indian freedom. We shall fill all the jails in India with our passive resisters and our breakers of the salt laws, and we shall make all administration impossible by our opposition.

Mr. Gandhi admitted, however, that even in the remote event of victory negotiation would still be necessary, and he was prepared to do anything to avoid bloodshed and suffering if the essential cause of Indian nationalism did not lose thereby.

From our subsequent conversation I gathered that even at this critical hour a settlement is possible and that Mr. Gandhi is prepared to recommend to Congress the suspension of the Civil Disobedience Movement and co-operation in the Round Table Conference on the following terms:

(1) The terms of reference of the Round Table Conference to include the framing of a Constitution giving India "the substance of independence".

(2) Satisfaction to be granted to Mr. Gandhi's demands for the repeal of the salt tax, the prohibition of liquor, and a ban on foreign cloth.

(3) An amnesty for prisoners convicted of political offences to coincide with the end of the Civil Disobedience campaign.

(4) The remaining seven points raised in Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy to be left for future discussion.

The Bombay Chronicle, 23-5-1930

423. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 18/21, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

The letter I wrote to you last Monday seems to have been posted as late as Friday. That is what a jail is, after all.

See that my letters are not published.

Write to Thakkar Bapa and inquire whether the work on wells for *Antyajas* is proceeding. If he is short of funds, give him some money from what is lying with us, that is, from the money which we have handed over to Jamnalalji.

My hours are divided as follows:

Brushing the teeth, lavatory, bath	2 hours
Prayers, twice	1 hour
Nap during day-time	1½ hours
Meals and preparation for them	3 hours
Repairing the spinning-wheel, blowing and spraying the yarn, etc.	3½ hours
Spinning on the *takli*	2½ hours
Walking in the yard	1½ hours
Reading, meeting the Jailor	2 hours
From 4 a.m. to 9 p.m.	17 hours

I discovered from experience that oranges were not necessary. I have, therefore, given them up for the present. This means that my diet consists of dates, raisins, milk and curds, and sour lime and soda bicarb. If I find it necessary to do so, I will include oranges. I found today that by adding a fairly good quantity of curd to unboiled milk, we get well-formed curd. Yesterday I had mixed curd in unboiled milk. I still take unboiled

milk. I keep good health. I was weighed again and I found that I had lost no weight.

I am at present reading Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*. I do get a newspaper. It is the *Times*[1]. I shall now be supplied the *Chronicle* too. I have been permitted to get *Young India*, *Navajivan*, *The Modern Review* and *Indian Social Reformer*. If I want, I can get some others too.

I think I wrote to you that I had started bathing in hot water.

You need not worry about me at all. This time going to jail is enjoying oneself.

I was very glad to read Kumarappa's name in *Young India*. He is certainly a worthy man.

You can write a letter giving general information and send with it as many others of the same type as you like.

I cannot give any political message. You can give information about everyone.

Does Rukhi write to you? How is she? Do you hear from Umiya? Tell Kusum junior that she has not replied to my special letter. She is a cunning girl. Navin and Dhiru must be doing fine. Boys, girls, all of them can write to me.

How is Dr. Kanuga, the person for whom vegetables are sent from the Ashram?

You must have made arrangements for Amina's confinement. Where is Imam Saheb? How is he?

Who were the four boys who were let off as being too young? Where are they? Which are the places the women have spread themselves over?

How is the work going on in the dairy, the tannery and on the farm? How many looms are working?

The well near the office was to be cleaned. If it has not been cleaned and if it can be, get it cleaned. Is Keshu contented? How is his health?

Tell Radha to write to me. I do not write separately to her. I feel like writing to many others, but how can I do that?[2]

Blessings from
BAPU

[1] *The Times of India*

[2] This was written on May 18 and 19. The postscripts were written on May 21.

[PS.]

I do not regard the experiment of making curds from unboiled milk to have succeeded completely. On the first day, I thought it was all right. I do not know whether the quantity of curd mixed in the milk was not correct, but the next sample was not well formed. The experiment is continuing.

BAPU

[PPS.]

Prabhavati's address: A.I.C.C. Office, Allahabad.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8111. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

424. LETTER TO REGINALD REYNOLDS

May 22, 1930

MY DEAR REYNOLDS,

I have your love-letter as also news about you from Mira. By all means go. If you feel like coming and seeing me before you leave, do come. There will be no difficulty about your seeing me.

God be with you wherever you may be.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

I wanted to write to your fiancee but it was not to be. But if you send me her address, I would still write. Tell her I received her letter the day of my arrest.

From a photostat: C.W. 4536. Courtesy: Swarthmore College, Philadelphia

425. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

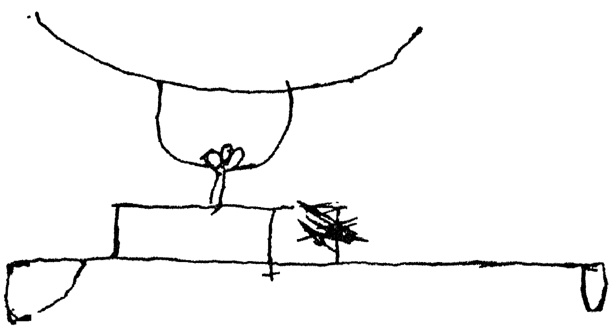
YERAVDA PLEASURE HOUSE,
May 25, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

Again I commence this on Sunday after the silence and after the evening prayer.

When you came time seemed to be running against us. I therefore simply allowed you all to talk instead of myself talking and asking a lot of questions. You were not at all looking well. You seemed to have been pulled down. That won't do. You must take proper exercise and proper food. You must take all the fruit you may need and keep yourself fit.

I realize now as never before how careless I was not to have mastered the details about arranging the large bow. As I have some mechanical ability, I have suspended it and have already begun working at it since Thursday last and have a fair stock of *punis*[1] but there is something wrong about it. The long cord hangs from the roof. There are two strings hanging from the bamboo. I have joined the two and I pass the thin cord over the joined strings thus:



[1] Slivers

The bamboo work does not stand steady but is inclined to turn round and round. Of course, the wall prevents it. But I fancy that it should not turn at all even if there was no wall preventing it. If you have understood what I have described and if there is any flaw, you will tell me.

Your *takli* is well made but it [is] too heavy for fine spinning. I have no doubt that the bamboo is the thing. My speed is better now. I have done 65 rounds today in 1½ hours—not bad for me. I would do better when I shed my nervousness and draw the thread without fearing to break it.

My translation of one verse per day from the prayer-book continues. I wish I could do more. But the spinning and carding won't leave me any more time. And now I must make time for the sewing-machine. I was glad you came.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

How do you make rigid the little wheel on the spindle when it gets loose?

From the original: C.W. 5397. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9631

426. LETTER TO SARALADEVI[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 25, 1930

DEAR SISTER,

I have received the fruit sent by you. I am asked to write to you not to send them hereafter. Any fruit I require is given to me here. Mangoes and oranges are given to the Jailor to eat. When there has been conflagration on all sides how can I eat mangoes? I took oranges for two or four days and [then] gave them up. I do not see any necessity for them. [If] I require I shall indeed take them. I shall ever cherish the love behind the idea of sending fruit. I hope the children are all right.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 574

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

427. LETTER TO CHANDRASHANKAR SHUKLA[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 25, 1930

DEAR CHANDRASHANKAR,

The Jail Superintendent has shown me your letter. For the present I will not ask for any book. The books already here are lying [unread]. The whole of the spare time is spent in spinning and carding. Some time is devoted to reading.

I hope your health is all right. If it is not so, improve it. You must have forgotten the pang [of separation]. You must be seeing Kaka. Where is Kamalnayan? If he is there, ask him to write.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, part III, P. 573

428. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

What kind of a husband have I given you? But no, you cannot say that I gave him to you. He was your own choice. You cannot, therefore, blame me. I hope you do remember how much I had cautioned you. In any case, you can go one better than he; so how can you or I complain? I hope Sita alias Dhairyabala is quite happy.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1180. Courtesy: Sushila Gandhi; also G.N. 4768

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

429. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

Gujarati letters were received here last week, but they have not yet been given to me. I got Mirabehn's and Mathew's letters because they were in English. That is how it is! But this will not go on for many days—if God wills.

My weight is practically the same; perhaps it has gone up by half a pound.

The diet, too, continues to be the same. Now I get perfect curds from unboiled milk. The milk forms into curd in 24 hours. I had mixed a fairly good quantity of curd with the milk.

I have finished reading two books: *The Light of Asia* and *The Saints of Islam.* I am now reading a book on prisons written by an Inspector-General of Prison sof the Punjab, which was sent to me by a friend. I simply get no time for reading. Seven hours are taken up by the spinning-wheel, the *takli* and carding. On some days, when the wheel requires no repair, it is less than seven hours, and on some other days it is more. I am not unhappy about this. I love work. My skill in the work increases because I have to do everything myself, and I discover very small faults. The yarn which I spin on the *takli* has improved very much in quality. The speed, too, has gone up.

I think very little about things outside. I am so busy with work that I get no time to think about them. I fix my eyes on the central teaching of the *Gita*, and so enjoy peace of mind. If I did not do that, though I am supplied newspapers, reading about all that happens would have made it difficult for me to experience peace. The prayers twice a day and the daily reading of the *Gita* have proved a great support to me.

Is there any news about Krishna Nair, Surajbhan and Jayanti Prakash? How is Satis Babu? Write to all to whom you send letters and tell them that they are not to be published. Friends may certainly read them.

How is Jamna's health?

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8112. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

430. LETTER TO JANAKIDEVI BAJAJ[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [May 26, 1930][2]

DEAR JANAKIBEHN,

How are you? I hope you have not lost your courage. How is Madalasa? Do not be anxious about Kamalnayan. Have you not learnt this much by hearing *Gita* from Vinoba that we need not be anxious about anything?

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

431. LETTER TO JAMNABEHN GANDHI[3]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [May 26, 1930][4]

DEAR JAMNABEHN,

This is to tell you this much that no women should be anxious about me. I remember you all daily. Get a letter written to me and send it through the Ashram.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[4] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

432. LETTER TO NIRMALA GANDHI[1]

Silence Day [*May 26, 1930*][2]

DEAR NIMU,

I hear from Ba that both you and your mother have returned to the Ashram. It was good. But what about your complaint about constipation? Are you not brave? How is Savitri[3]? Is she called by this name or any other?

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

433. LETTER TO RADHA GANDHI[4]

Silence Day [*May 26, 1930*][5]

DEAR RADHA,

Your letter must be in the post which I have not received. If you have not written to me any letter, write to me one giving all the news. Where is Rukhi? How is she?

In great haste.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] This seems to be a slip for "Sumitra", daughter of the addressee.
[4] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[5] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

434. LETTER TO MAITRI GIRI[1]

Silence Day [May 26, 1930][2]

DEAR MAITRI,

Have you become wise? Be a credit to the name of your father. How is Krishnamaiya Devi? Write to me a letter.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

435. LETTER TO GANGABEHN JHAVERI[3]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [May 26, 1930][4]

DEAR GANGABEHN JHAVERI,

[I hope] you and Nanibehn are all right. Now can you stay alone? I do not write more as it is dark.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[4] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

436. *LETTER TO GOMATI MASHRUWALA*[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [*May 26, 1930*][2]

DEAR GOMATI,

I hear that Kishorelal is keeping good health. Write to me in detail. How is your health? Where is Tari? If she is there ask her to write. Where is Nathu? How is he? Does he go to the Ashram? Which sisters are there?

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

437. *LETTER TO MOTIBEHN*[3]

Silence Day [*May 26, 1930*][4]

DEAR MOTIBEHN[5],

Ba told me that you were melancholy. How is that? One who studies *Gita* cannot have melancholia. How can one be melancholy who is daily in meditation with God and believes that He resides in the heart? Drive out melancholia.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[4] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[5] Wife of Mathuradas Purushottam

438. *LETTER TO DR. PRANJIVANDAS MEHTA*[1]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

DEAR BROTHER PRANJIVAN,

I remember you many times in the jail. You must be in good health. Do not worry about me.

Vandemataram from
MOHANDAS

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

439. *LETTER TO RATILAL MEHTA*[2]

May 26, 1930

DEAR RATILAL,

How do you and Champa fare? What work do you do? Do you write letters to Bapu[3]?

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[3] Addressee's father, Dr. Pranjivan Mehta

440. *LETTER TO MANIBEHN PARIKH*[1]

May 26, 1930

DEAR MANIBEHN,

Narahari did after all go to jail. He received beating also. He is doubly fortunate. Are you completely courageous? Take care of your health.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 577

441. *LETTER TO MITHUBEHN PETIT*[2]

YERAVDA MANDIR,
May 26, 1930

DEAR MITHUBEHN,

May God protect you.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

[2] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

442. LETTER TO AMINA QURESHI[1]

May 26, 1930

DEAR AMINA,

At last Imam Saheb has after all gone to the jail palace. Perhaps Qureshi may have also gone. Is your health good? What arrangements have been made about confinement? How do children fare?

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

443. LETTER TO SHANTA[2]

Silence Day [May 26, 1930][3]

DEAR SHANTA,

How do you fare? Is your mind absolutely calm? Perhaps there might be a letter from you in the post which I have not received. If you have not written to me any letter, write to me.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 578

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[3] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

444. LETTER TO SONAMANI[1]

Silence Day [May 26, 1930][2]

DEAR SONAMANI,

How are both you sisters? Have you learnt Hindi well? Write me all news.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 576

445. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI[3]

Silence Day [May 26, 1930][4]

DEAR KALAVATI,

I await a letter from you. How is the state of your mind at present? What are you doing? Write to me your account.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[4] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

446. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA[1]

[*May 26, 1930*][2]

DEAR GANGABEHN (ELDER),

I remembered you when I was reading Ch. XII and XIII. I have written at the top of the translation of Ch. XII,[3] which is short, that it is worthy of being committed to memory by all, if not in Sanskrit, at least in Gujarati. It is easy to understand it in Gujarati. When we know the line of devotion shown therein, we have finished all. You must have undoubtedly written a letter, but it has not yet come to my hands.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 575

447. LETTER TO P. G. MATHEW

May 26, 1930

MY DEAR MATHEW,

I was glad to have your note. If you have patience God will give you light and peace.

BAPU

From a photostat: G.N. 1552

[1] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.
[2] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.
[3] In *Anasaktiyoga*; *vide* Vol. XLI, p. 125.

448. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

May 27, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN[1],

Will you please order raisins 2 lb., *kishmish* 1 lb. and send me some common writing paper or a scribbling pad?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 240

449. LETTER TO MOHANLAL BHATT[2]

Tuesday [May 27, 1930][3]

DEAR BROTHER MOHANLAL,

You are indeed doing well. Some two mistakes have been observed in the [translation of] *Gita*. I shall rewrite. Please send *Indian Social Reformer* and *The Modern Review* to me. We [used to] receive both of them. If they are not received please write to Messrs Natarajan and Ramananda Babu.

Blessings from
BAPU

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III. p. 577

[1] Superintendent, Yeravda Central Prison

[2] This is a translation. The original letter is not available.

[3] The date has been inferred from the placing of the item in the source.

450. LETTER TO E. E. DOYLE

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
May 30, 1930

DEAR MAJOR DOYLE,

Today four visitors came to see me. Among these were Mrs. Captain and Mr. Reginald Reynolds. The other two were Miss Slade (Mirabai) and Mr. Mathuradas Trikumjee. The last two were admitted. As the Superintendent could not admit the other two, I had to decline to see Miss Slade and Mr. Mathuradas. At our very first conversation, you will recollect, I made it clear to you that I recognized no distinction between blood relations and others and that if the Government wanted me to meet my blood relations they should appreciate my viewpoint and let me also see those who like Mrs. Captain and Mr. Reynolds are as good as blood relations. I thought you had agreed to the position. But I may have misunderstood you. I want to blame nobody. I want no special privileges. I simply wish [you] to understand my position and would like the Government to know my viewpoint though they may not endorse it. I may not see my relatives if I may not see the others. This is no new attitude with me. I took it up in 1922 also and at that time there was no difficulty about my seeing those who were not blood relations. Of course, it is understood all along that there can be no political messages received or sent by me.

There are, too, my weekly letters hanging fire. These too I wrote as per our understanding, as I thought it was, namely, that non-political affairs[1] written to my Ashram friends in one envelope would count as one letter.

I would appreciate an early clearance of both these issues.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Bombay Secret Abstracts, 750(5) A, p. 65; also S.N. 19973

[1] The draft (S.N. 19973) here has "letters".

451. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

June 4, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Could you please send a jailor inspector if only for half an hour at the outside?

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 241

452. LETTER TO R. V. MARTIN

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
June 11, 1930[1]

DEAR MAJOR MARTIN,

You have told me that the Government will permit seven of my blood relations to see me twice per week and the others only by their special permission. This means that my wife, who is not a blood relative, and naturally her brothers and other relatives, have to obtain special permission. I am sure this is a mere slip. But what is obviously contemplated is that those who are not related to me by blood or through marriage can, except Shrimati Mirabai Slade,[2] see me only by special permission of the Government. If this decision is not revised, I fear I must not see my relatives. I have in the Ashram and outside many widows, girls, boys and men, who are perhaps more to me than many a blood relative. If they may not see me on the same terms as relatives, to be just to the former, I must not see the latter.[3]

[1] The letter was delivered to R. V. Martin, the Jail Superintendent, the next day.

[2] The words "except Shrimati Mirabai Slade" do not appear in the draft available under S.N. 19974.

[3] Regarding the privileges to be allowed to Gandhiji, the Secretary of the Home Department on June 17 wrote to the Inspector General of Prisons: ". . . I am directed to state that the word 'relations' should be substituted for the words 'blood relations' . . . . It was of course not intended to exclude

Although it is now a fortnight, I do not know what has happened to the Ashram letters that were received and those that I wrote. You told me that you had sent them[1] to the I.G.

There is one more matter. I see Sjt. Kalelkar is to be brought here as companion for me. He is an esteemed co-worker, but if I conveyed the impression that I would like him to be brought here to keep me company, I am sorry. I would not like him to be torn from so many companions with whom he is placed at the Sabarmati Jail and come here to share my isolation. If he could mix freely with the other satyagrahi prisoners and keep company with me, I would naturally value his company, but I have no desire to have the joy of his company at his expense. What I would desire is naturally to be able to see all my satyagrahi friends who are in this jail. I repeat what I have told you so often: I do not desire special privileges. But if an ordinary prisoner may have the company of his fellows who may chance to be in the same prison, it may be lawful for me to entertain such a desire.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

From a photostat of the original: C.W. 9316; also S.N. 19974

453. *LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [On or before *June 16, 1930*][2]

CHI. PREMA,

It seems it is your letter the authorities have held back. I am sure it was entirely innocent. But what can we do? If every letter were to be received a jail would have no meaning. Write again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6676. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

---

Mr. Gandhi's wife, or his brother-in-law and the like. I am further to say that if Mr. Gandhi refuses to see his relations, the only thing that can be done is to treat them like strangers and interviews regulated accordingly. . . ."

[1] The draft has "both".

[2] In *Bapuna Patro—5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne* it is suggested that this might have been written between May 12 and June 23.

454. LETTER TO RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

YERAVDA CENTRAL PRISON,
June 18, 1930

DEAR RAMANANDA BABU,

Your letter of 25th May was given to me three days ago. I thank you for all you say in it. I was glad to learn that my brief account of Kavi Rajchandra was safely in your hands.[1] I was wondering whether it had reached you or not.

I have permission to receive *The Modern Review* among other magazines. Will you please send me copies from the May number? I asked the *Young India* office some time ago to send me the magazine but somehow I have not received the copies. I did not write directly.

I hope to see your contribution in *Young India* before long. Please remember me to Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

SJT. RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE
120-2 UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD
CALCUTTA

From the original: C.W. 9314. Courtesy: Sita Devi

455. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

June 18, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

Will you please order:
Raisins 2 lb.
Dates 2 lb.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 266

[1] *Vide* pp. 98-9.

456. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

June 22, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

After many weeks I take up the pen to write Ashram letters again. The batch I sent you last I knew was held up and so was the batch from the Ashram. In the circumstances, I did not want to write. The way now seems to be fairly clear though I have not yet got all the weekly letters and I know that some have been withheld. They are from children. I am trying to secure them. I must have some reminders now and then at least of prison life.

No visits can be entertained so long as the difficulty remains, as it does, unremoved. If visits cannot be had on honourable terms, we must be content with writing letters if they can be honourably continued. If, therefore, you do not hear from me regularly, know that I am a prisoner. If I am really ill, walls will speak. The authorities will themselves proclaim it as they did last time and you could always inquire from them whenever you hear rumours, and I expect they will promptly give you the information. But I am hoping that there will be plain sailing so far as letter-writing is concerned. Just at present there is nothing wrong with me save for a trifling constipation. There is no cause for any anxiety whatsoever.

I have your latest letter, i.e., of the 9th instant. Nothing since. The instructions you give about the bow are quite good and quite enough. Yet I have hung it up the wrong way up but it has worked with perfect smoothness. The bow itself has not required any attention. I have finished carding all the cotton I had. The gut has not given in at all as yet. I used not *neem* leaves but leaves of some other tree resembling the tamarind. They are quite serviceable. You may send two pounds of cotton per anyone who may be going to Poona. There is no hurry. I have slivers enough to last till 15th July at least. I need not touch the bow till then. When I do, I shall rearrange the apparatus in accordance with your instructions.

About adjusting the wheel on the spindle too I understand. But here again nature has been kind to me. I adjusted the

wheel in my own way and it has remained quite fixed. If there is trouble I shall try your prescription.

I note all you say about your own work. You shall act just as God leads you and your strength permits. May God bless you. More from the general letter.

Love.

BAPU

From the original: C.W. 5398. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9632

457. LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN

June 22, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

(1) Will you please order 2 lb. dates?

(2) My companion did not get vegetables and salt yesterday.

(3) He is still without the commode-pot, he has the box.

(4) He has not got his utensils, charts, etc., returned to him.

I am obliged to write for him because he has been brought here for my sake. His discomfort therefore becomes my discomfort. I therefore write about him quite selfishly.

And of course the eternal letters!!!

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 266

458. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 22/23, 1930

CHI NARANDAS,

I get your letters one by one. You will read about this from my letter to Mirabehn. I got three letters of yours, of 19th and 26th May and 10th June, one after another during the last six days. Other letters sent by you must be passing from hand to hand. I think I have still to receive two letters, of June 2 or 3 and of June 16. In future give me in your letters the names of those

whose letters you may have forwarded. This is because some of them have not been given to me.

Do everything you can to please Ratilal. I am writing to him.

Please give the Japanese friend who wants to translate *My Experiments with Truth* the permission to do so. With this is a letter for the Bengali women. Rasjibhai and Shivabhai must have completely recovered now.

What work is Jagannath doing?

The experiment of making curds from unboiled milk has proved completely successful. Mostly I take curds instead of milk. Hence my present diet is curds, raisins or dates and juice of a lemon once a day. I still do not take any hot drink. Once only, when I had to take castor oil, I had taken hot water, lemon juice and salt twice. I drank milk on that day, but it was unboiled. This diet has had no harmful effects. I think, therefore, that I shall keep to this diet for the present. The weight is practically steady. It fluctuates by a pound. It is 105 at present.

Kakasaheb was brought here four days ago. He is keeping very fit. His diet is milk, bread, ghee and some fruit from what is allowed to me. He has made a request for vegetables, which will probably be granted.

I have added sewing to my daily work. I had asked for a sewing-machine from Lady Vithaldas and it has now arrived. I sew jail caps at present. I give to this work three-quarters to one hour daily.

My rate of spinning is 375 rounds minimum. The average would be 400. Spinning on the *takli* is also going on. I also spend considerable time in making my *takli*. I am trying to spin fine yarn. The hand has set well and I spin with greater ease every day. I disover new virtues in the *takli* daily. Even more than the spinning-wheel it may prove to be the support of people in want, though, of course, both give peace of mind. I compared them today with the sewing-machine and clearly realized the moral value of manual work. Though I look upon the sewing-machine as an invaluable benefit, I do not regard it as a source of peace. When you work on it, you naturally wish to increase the speed and in the end the brain is bound to get tired. But once a person has acquired control over the *takli*, time passes more peacefully for him as he works on it than for the driver of a bullock-cart. This is my experience, though I have not become an expert spinner as yet. I must wait and see what experience I have when I have acquired perfect control over the *takli*. Kakasaheb, too, spins on it, but he has not discovered its secret yet.

These things are difficult for him to master. He knows that they are for our good and, therefore, is trying to love them. He does not want to start the spinning-wheel at present. He wishes to master the *takli* first.

I read only after I have performed the spinning *yajna*. I look upon sewing as a part of this sacrifice. I had received, and welcomed, the suggestion sent by Mathuradas. I implement it whenever I get an opportunity. Since Kaka is here, I am quite eager now. I started Marathi yesterday. I would be happy if I make at least some progress in it. If I advise everyone to commit the verses of the *Gita* to memory, should not I, too, do that? The attempt is like fixing the shape of a pot after it is baked. If at all it is worth making, however, this is the right place. I, therefore, started learning the verses eight days ago. I have learnt by heart Chapter XII and have now started Chapter XIII. Kaka's coming has naturally interrupted the progress. I will do nothing by stealing time from the hours apart for the spinning *yajna*. I, therefore, do these things in spare moments in the course of other work or in the "library"[1], etc. Let no one be shocked to read that I try to learn the verses of the *Gita* by heart in the "library". We have learnt from childhood that there is no spot where He is not present. We should, therefore, feel no qualms in taking His name or doing His work there. Yes, this certainly means that our "libraries" should be as clean as the buildings in which books are stored. Mine at any rate is. For here in the jail everyone has to do all the things in the cell itself. They have given me three cells. That does not mean that the position is different. In jail I, too, have done all the things in the same cell, whether in South Africa or here. I have had to do that.

Both of us felt that your long letter of 26th May was none the less short, or rather not too long. It did not contain one superfluous word. If anything was left out, the letter was short to that extent, but we did not feel at all that anything was left out. I got this letter of the 26th after I had received that of June 10th. In fact I got it only yesterday.

I shall not write more now. I think I have replied to all your questions.

In the letters which you write in future, mention the names of those whose letters you may enclose.

[1] Lavatory

I have written this letter in two sittings. The first part was written yesterday evening. I suppose it is Purushottam who attends on Khushalbhai at present.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

If Mirabehn is not there, or if she is too busy otherwise to find time, you should, when you can, carry out the suggestion about sending cotton. I will reply to Balkrishna next time.

From Gujarati: C.W. 8113. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

459. LETTER TO PREMABEHN KANTAK

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 23, 1930

CHI. PREMA,

I got your beautiful letter. If I were not eager to get your letters, I would not merely out of courtesy ask you to write.

I like Dhurandhar and Kamala very much. I do not know when I shall meet the other lady.

You should not stop eating uncooked vegetables. You can certainly eat bitter gourds uncooked. I have done so. You should take some tender ones, mash them and mix lemon juice with the pulp. If, however, you get no vegetables on some day, you should do without. You may eat raisins instead. Your health has improved and you should not spoil it again. If you feel more hungry than before, you may increase the quantity of milk or curds. Do not worry about the expense. Write to me and tell me what you finally decide.

If I have left out any point in my reply ask me again.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6671. Courtesy: Premabehn Kantak

460. *LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI*

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 24, 1930

CHI. KALAVATI,

You must be following Gujarati well enough by now. Write to me and tell me all your thoughts. Is your mind at peace? How do you occupy yourself?

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5245

461. *LETTER TO PATRICK QUINN*

June 26, 1930

DEAR MR. QUINN,

I hope you have ordered dates.

Please send salt and commode-pot.

Yours sincerely,
M. K. GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III, p. 269

462. *LETTER TO PRABHAVATI*

June 27, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

You must now be getting my letters regularly. You should assume that as long as I am permitted to write from here I will regularly write to you. My weight is satisfactory. It is a little above 103, and so there is no cause for worry. It is indeed welcome news that Father's health is improving. You have lost much weight. How is that?

Take special care and improve your health. You should take milk or curds and fruit, and also have exercise. A letter for Jayaprakash is enclosed.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3360

463. LETTER TO PRABHAVATI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 29, 1930

CHI. PRABHAVATI,

I got your letter. My letter-writing had stopped, and so how could you get any letter from me? Probably I shall be able to write regularly now. I keep fairly good health. My diet consists of milk or curds, raisins or dates and lemons; this seems enough. Even milk, I have been taking unboiled. That has done me no harm. They have been keeping Kakasaheb with me since about a week ago.

How do you two manage about your food? Do you have a servant or do you cook for yourself? Do you read anything? I had sent you a copy of *Anasaktiyoga*[1]; did you get it? Have you read it? Did you understand it?

Write to Father and tell him that I often remember them all.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 3392

464. LETTER TO RUKMINI BAZAJ

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 29, 1930

CHI. RUKMINI,

I got your letter. You must have gone to the Ashram by now. Your first duty is to make your body strong. You have no excuse now to neglect doing that. Now that you are married and live with your husband's family, you ought not to fall ill. If you do, will not the elders in the family lose face in society?

[1] A Gujarati translation of the *Bhagavad Gita* by Gandhiji; *vide* Vol. XLI.

Write to me and tell me about your experiences in your husband's family. Do not be restrained by a false sense of shame when writing.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9049

465. LETTER TO KALAVATI TRIVEDI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
[*June 29, 1930*][1]

CHI. KALAVATI,

Your letter. The earlier one was not given to me. It is good that Shantabehn has come. She must be quite well by now. Improve your handwriting.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 5244

466. LETTER TO BENARSILAL BAZAJ

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 29, 1930

CHI. BENARSILAL,

I heard something about you. I hope you are happy with Chi. Rukmini. Write to me frankly.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Hindi: G.N. 9050; also C.W. 9303

[1] The source has "29-3-1930", which seems to be a slip.

467. LETTER TO RAIHANA TYABJI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

MY DEAR RAIHANA,

I do hope you left your bed long ago. Tell me how you are faring. Have you seen Father? Please remember me to Mother.

Love.

BAPU

From a photostat: S.N. 9617

468. LETTER TO MIRABEHN

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. MIRA,

I have your letter.

I think the Ashram letters will be now regularly received by me and mine by you all. The condition is that no politics can be discussed on either side. But if you find again an interruption, you will infer that some hitch has occurred.

I am glad you are keeping fit. Only your weight must not go below a minimum which for your build must be 116 lb.

Yes, I am doing some sewing regularly. Of course, it is all jail work. When Mathuradas suggested it for cheapening khadi, I was attracted to the suggestion. I thought I would practise on the machine here. The machine has been sent by Lady Vithaldas who was for some time in the Ashram, if you can recall her.

As I am not likely to have visitors now, it would [be] better to send me 3 lb. of cotton. I said 2 in my last letter[1] but perhaps it is as well to send me 3. Kakasaheb too will need slivers. You may pack the cotton in paper and then sew it up in sacking. This suggestion is made to save khadi.

[1] *Vide* pp. 438-9.

I told you all about the bow in my last letter. Though the way I have fixed it works all right, I shall try your way when I get the cotton.

My love to all the friends.

Love.

BAPU

[PS.]

If you cannot attend to cotton, let someone else do it.

From the original: C.W. 5399. Courtesy: Mirabehn; also G.N. 9633

469. LETTER TO PURUSHOTTAM GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day, June 30, 1930

CHI. PURUSHOTTAM,

I have had no letter from you. Send me your diary. What is your weight? Do you still take medicine? My respectful greetings to the elders.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 899. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

470. LETTER TO LILAVATI ASAR

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. LILAVATI,

I have your letter. From here I cannot send you a letter in a sealed envelope. But what is there to hide for one who has a pure heart? You should throw away the letter you have received. After having once given up the thought of marriage, why think about the matter again? Moreover, for you now true marriage lies in clinging to the duty to which you have wedded yourself. It is only in such marriage that true happiness is found. It gives rise to no problems and there is no possibility of widowhood in it. So you should dismiss the thought altogether from your mind. Meditate on the last portion of the second chapter of the *Gita*, which we daily recite. If this does not help you to feel at peace, you may write to me again and you should have no hesitation

in writing freely. Forget the past. Take care of the present, and the future will then take care of itself. This is the meaning, plain and simple, of non-attachment. If we do our duty today, we shall automatically know our duty tomorrow.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: G.N. 9563

471. LETTER TO MUNNALAL

YERAVDA MANDIR
June 30, 1930

BHAI MUNNALAL,

I am both surprised and pained to know that you have fled. As long as we live in the body, how can we run away from work? Even if it is right for some persons to refrain from physical activity altogether, that cannot be so for you or me. One who has attained perfection can perhaps become free from the duty of working. I have already drawn your attention to your unsettled state of mind. Wake up and start working.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 6648. Courtesy: Munnalal; also G.N. 8648

472. LETTER TO SUSHILA GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. SUSHILA,

I got your letter. How can you deny that you are a Parsi lady? If you were not one, you would not write *anadharya*[1]. Vanias pronounce the word with a palatal *na*. You seem, however, to be better than even a Parsi lady. It seems you have given up all fear. It is because you know that Manilal is not a body but a soul that you expressed sentiments which befit a brave woman. My choice has been fully justified. May God grant you a long life.

[1] Literally, 'unexpected'. She had spelt the word the way Parsis usually pronounce it.

Convey my blessings to Father and Mother.

Blessings from
BAPU

From a photostat of the Gujarati: C.W. 1181. Courtesy: Sushilabehn Gandhi; also G.N. 4769

473. LETTER TO NARANDAS GANDHI

YERAVDA MANDIR,
June 30, 1930

CHI. NARANDAS,

I have now received all your letters.

We have thought long about the trouble being given by the Bharwads. To me our dharma is plain. It is the same towards the entire world. We should win over the Bharwads by love, and at the same time try to protect what it is our duty to protect. That can be done only by giving our lives to the Bharwads. In other words, we should lay down our lives in protecting our things but should never attack the Bharwads in doing so. However, I do not wish to blame anyone for what has happened. We can follow dharma only within the limits of our capacity, otherwise we would be guilty of artificiality. We should, therefore, do what the impulse of the moment dictates. That impulse is the measure of our strength. As for the future, I have no doubt that our dharma is what I have stated it to be. But before and after adopting that course for protecting our things, we should discharge two other duties. I have been observing and saying for the last fifteen years that we have not mixed with our neighbours. What pains me is that I myself did not follow that path. I tried to persuade Maganlal to follow it. Some kind of a start was made. There were, however, difficulties in the way and the attempt was abandoned. We are now paying for our indifference. But recalling the past is of no value except for drawing lessons from it. Let us look to the present. Just now, therefore, we should discuss the problem with the Bharwads. We should ourselves try to plead with them in the presence of persons who know them. We should also tell them what we wish. If they want to graze their cattle [on our land], they should pay us something. If, however, we have no land we should explain that to them. We should also appeal to our neighbours to plead with the Bharwads. We should render them whatever other service we can, and should continue to do so irrespective of their

behaviour. We should explain to them why the Ashram has been established and what it aims at doing. Even if we do all this, it is possible that they will occasionally raid the Ashram. If they do, those of us who can, may lay down their lives and let the Bharwads take away what they will after killing them. If we do not have the will and the strength for this, you may do what seems best to all of you. I have only explained the duty, as I understand it, that is proper to an Ashram. You should, however, put out of consideration what I may write, for beyond expressing my views I can do nothing. Moreover, an opinion expressed from a distance is likely to be erroneous. What I might think if I were present there may very well be different from what I think from here. Moreover, no matter with what detachment a prisoner tries to think, his conclusions are likely to be based on incomplete data. You need not, therefore, attach much weight to my view. I shall be satisfied if it helps you to come to your own decision. In any case it was good that afterwards you treated the Bharwads for injuries.

I am writing to Bhansali; read that letter. Your decisions about Chandrakanta and Giriraj seem all right.

I am getting on well. These days I am also trying to learn by heart verses from the *Gita*. I have completed Chapter XII and done half of Chapter XIII. Does man know what he wants? I liked Kaka's coming, but I also see that it has turned out to be an obstacle. Since his coming my daily study has fallen behind. Without him I would have proceeded faster with the *Gita*. Actually, I tried to prevent his coming, but failed. My reason for doing that was quite different. I did not like that he, too, should be confined within four walls as I was. But the Government had made up its mind to provide me company and did so. I, therefore, tolerate Kaka. And he has to bear separation from the large company at Sabarmati. Thus we find the situation a mixture of all sentiments—there are at least the pathetic, the humorous and the heroic. However, if I have relaxed in one field of my daily study, I have started Marathi. I would have become proud if I had become altogether self-reliant. Now that I have been receiving invisible services from Kakasaheb, they will help me in reminding me of my right place. Besides, the exercise which my reason gets in sweet discussions about the *Gita* and other works is an additional benefit. Thus I get an opportunity of another kind for self-examination. I can, therefore, say that I would have been content if Kaka had not come, and am also content now that he has come. Who can weigh and decide whether his coming

is a gain or a loss to me? To him who believes that anything he gets unasked comes from God, every such thing is a benefit—is a gift of His grace. Kaka's coming, therefore, is such a gift. It does not matter if the study of the *Gita* has slowed down.

Convey my greetings to Vallabhbhai. The question of Kaka's diet has been settled. He gets two pounds of cow's milk, ten *tolas* of butter, twenty *tolas* of fresh, uncooked vegetables and twenty *tolas* of chapati. He turns the milk into curds. He is getting on quite well. His weight has increased by one pound. By way of vegetables, he gets brinjals and radishes by turn during the week. He cooks the brinjals and eats the radishes raw.

Blessings from
BAPU

From Gujarati: C.W. 8114. Courtesy: Narandas Gandhi

474. LETTER TO GANGABEHN VAIDYA

YERAVDA MANDIR,
Silence Day [*June 30, 1930*][1]

CHI. GANGABEHN,

All of us are far away from our ideal and will remain so. Our duty lies in striving to reach it. Man's ideal grows from day to day and that is why it ever recedes from him. You are ever striving and that is all that you can do. Our effort should be pure and unremitting.

Blessings from
BAPU

[PS.]

I do not write separately about Kaka, because the long letter contains all the news.

From the Gujarati original: C.W. 8751. Courtesy: Gangabehn Vaidya

[1] From the reference to news about Kaka Kalelkar; *vide* the preceding item.

475. *LETTER TO KAMALA NEHRU*

June 30, 1930

CHI. KAMALA,

I was very happy to have your letter. You must not let your body become weak. It has to render much service. How is Indu keeping now? Has she grown up a little?

My *pranam* to Mother and blessings to Sarup and Krishna.

Blessings from
BAPU

[From Hindi]

Gandhi-Nehru Papers, 1930. Courtesy: Nehru Memorial Museum and Library

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PENAL SECTIONS OF THE SALT ACT[1]

Seizures, Detention, Search and Arrest

Section 39 of the Bombay Salt Act which is practically the same as Sections 16-17 of the Indian Salt Act (XII of 1882), empowers any Salt-revenue officer to do the following among other things:

1. To enter any place where illicit manufacture is going on;
2. "In case of resistance, break open any door and remove any other obstacle to his entry upon or into such land, building, enclosed place or premises";
3. To take possession of or destroy salt illicitly manufactured;
4. "To seize in any open space, or in transit, any article which he has reason to believe to be contraband salt and any package or covering in which such article is found and the other contents, if any, of such package or covering in which the same is found, and any animal, vessel or conveyance used or intended to be used in carrying the same";
5. "To detain and search and, if he thinks proper, arrest any person, whom he has reason to believe to be guilty of any offence punishable under this or any other law for the time being in force relating to salt revenue, or in whose possession contraband salt is found".

Things Liable to Confiscation

Section 50 of the Bombay Salt Act (in which Sec. 12 of the Indian Salt Act is incorporated) lays down that

"All contraband salt, and every vessel, animal, or conveyance used in carrying contraband salt and

All goods, packages and coverings in or among which contraband salt is found, and

every apparatus, implement, utensil or material employed for the manufacture, excavation, collection, or removal of salt without a licence or for the purpose of utilizing natural salt or salt-earth contrary to any of the provisions of this Act or any rule made thereunder shall be liable to confiscation."

Additional Punishment for Repetition of Offence

Section 10 of the Indian Salt Act (Act XII of 1882) lays down that

"Any person convicted of an offence under Section 9, after having been previously convicted of an offence under that section, or Section II of the In-

[1] *Vide* pp. 13-4.

land Customs Act, 1875, or under any enactment repealed by that Act, shall be punished with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, in addition to the punishment which may be inflicted for a first offence under Section 9, and every such person shall, upon every subsequent conviction of an offence under Section 9, be liable to imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months in addition to any term of imprisonment to which he was liable at his last previous conviction."

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

Section 41 of the Bombay Salt Act makes it "incumbent on every village officer" to do the following among other things:

1. To communicate to some salt revenue officer of the rank of a Sarkarkun or a Daroga any information concerning offences under the Act;

2. "To interpose for the purpose of preventing and to prevent, by the use of all reasonable means within his power, the commission of any such offence".

Section 48A lays down among other things that any salt-revenue officer, "who is guilty of cowardice shall on conviction before a magistrate be punished with imprisonment which may extend to three months, or with fine which may extend to three months' pay, or with both."

Young India, 6-3-1930

APPENDIX II

PERSONS WHO ACCOMPANIED GANDHIJI ON THE DANDI MARCH[1]

GUJARAT, 31: 1. Chhaganlal Joshi, 2. Jayanti Parekh, 3. Rasik Desai, 4. Vitthal, 5. Harakhji, 6. Tansukh Bhatt, 7. Kanti Gandhi, 8. Chhotubhai Patel, 9. Valjibhai Desai, 10. Pannalal Jhaveri, 11. Abbas, 12. Punjabhai Shah, 13. Somabhai, 14. Hasmukhram, 15. Ramjibhai Vankar, 16. Dinkarrav, 17. Bhanushankar, 18. Ravjibhai Patel, 19. Shivabhai, 20. Shankarbhai, 21. Jashbhai, 22. Haridas Varjivandas Gandhi, 23. Chimanlal, 24. Ramaniklal Modi, 25. Haridas Majumdar, 26. Ambalal Patel, 27. Madhavlal, 28. Manilal Gandhi, 29. Lalji, 30. Ratnaji, 31. Puratan Buch.

MAHARASHTRA, 13: 32. Pandit Khare, 33. Ganpatrav Godshe, 34. Bal Kalelkar, 35. Dwarkanath, 36. Gajanan, 37. Govind Harkare, 38. Pandurang, 39. Vinayakrav Apte, 40. Keshav Chitre, 41. Vishnu Pant, 42. Haribhau Mohani, 43. Vishnu Sharma, 44. Chintamani Shastri.

U.P., 8: 45. Ramdihalray, 46. Munshilal, 47. Sumangal Prakash, 48. JayantiPrasad, 49. Hari Prasad, 50. Jyotiramji, 51. Bhairv Datta, 52. Surendraji,

[1] *Vide* pp. 59-60.

CUTCH, 6: 53. Prathviraj Asar, 54. Madhavjibhai, 55. Naranjibhai, 56. Maganbhai Vora, 57. Dungarsibhai, 58. Jethalal.

KERALA, 4: 59. Raghavanji, 60. Titusji, 61. Krishna Nair, 62. Shankaran.

PUNJAB, 3: 63. Pyarelalji, 64. Surajbhan, 65. Premrajji.

RAJPUTANA, 3: 66. Sultansinh, 67. Madan Mohan Chaturvedi, 68. Narayan Dutta.

BOMBAY, 2: 69. Daudbhai, 70. Harilal Mahimtura.

SIND, 1: 71. Anand Hingorani.

NEPAL, 1: 72. Mahavir.

TAMILNAD, 1: 73. Tapan Nair.

ANDHRA, 1: 74. Subrahmanyan.

UTKAL, 1: 75. Motibasdas.

KARNATAK, 1: 76. Mahadev Martanda.

BIHAR, 1: 77. Girivardhari Chaudhari.

BENGAL, 1: 78. Durgesh Chandra Das.

Young India, 12-3-1930

APPENDIX III

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU'S NOTE ON MINORITIES[1]

The curtain has gone up again on the Indian stage and all the world is witness to our struggle for freedom. It is a strange struggle and our methods are novel. But it is also a grim struggle and the pledge that India took on Independence Day, January 26th, will not be forgotten. The spark that was lit by our leader on the banks of the Sabarmati is already spreading like a prairie fire throughout the country, and soon the whole land will try to redeem that pledge. Many a tragic scene will be enacted and many an actor on this vast stage will suffer torment before the curtain rings down finally on a free India.

But even when the fight is fiercest and consumes all our energies we must remember that the true solution of our difficulties can come only when we have won over and given satisfaction to our minorities. Today it is unfortunately the fact that some of them fear the majority and for fear of it keep apart from the struggle for freedom. It is sad that some who were our comrades-in-arms ten years ago are not with us today. None of us who had the privilege of marching shoulder to shoulder with them then can forget the brave part they took and the sacrifices they made. We cherish that memory and we are assured that when the fight thickens they must take their rightful place in the forefront.

[1] *Vide* "The Problem of Minorities", p. 397.

The history of India and of many of the countries of Europe has demonstrated that there can be no stable equilibrium in any country so long as an attempt is made to crush a minority or to force it to conform to the ways of the majority. There is no surer method of rousing the resentment of the minority and keeping it apart from the rest of the nation than to make it feel that it has not got the freedom to stick to its own ways. Repression and coercion can never succeed in coercing a minority. They but make it more self-conscious and more determined to value and hold fast to what it considers its very own. It matters little whether logic is on its side or whether its own particular brand of culture is worth while or not. The mere fear of losing it makes it dear. Freedom to keep it would itself lessen its value. The new Russia has gone a long way in solving its minorities' problem by giving each one of them the fullest cultural, educational and linguistic freedom.

Therefore we in India must make it clear to all that our policy is based on granting this freedom to the minorities and that under no circumstances will any coercion or repression of them be tolerated. There is hardly any likelihood of economic questions affecting the minorities as such, but should they do so we can also lay down as our deliberate policy that there shall be no unfair treatment of any minority. Indeed we should go further and state that it will be the business of the State to give favoured treatment to minority and backward communities.

In a free India political representation can only be on national lines. I would like this representation to be on an economic basis which would fit in with modern conditions far more than territorial representation and would also automatically do away with the lines of demarcation along communal lines. With religious and cultural and linguistic freedom granted, the principal questions that will arise in our legislatures will be economic ones and divisions on them cannot be on commual lines. But whatever the method of representation adopted may be, it must be such as to carry the goodwill of the minorities.

If these principles are accepted and adhered to, I do not think any minority can have a grievance or feel that it is ignored. It is possible however that, while agreeing to these principles, the minority may doubt the *bona fides* of the majority in giving effect to them. To that the only effective answer can be the translation of these principles into action. Unfortunately the ability to translate them into action can only come with the conquest of power in the State. If the *bona fides* of the majority are doubted, as they might well be, then even pacts and agreements are of little value. A general and country-wide adoption of certain broad principles can create a public opinion strong enough to prevent even an aggressive and evil-intentioned majority from going astray. But temporary pacts between individuals or even representatives cannot have the same value.

These principles should apply to all minority groups. To the Muslims who really are in such large numbers in India that it is inconceivable that

any majority can coerce them; to the Sikhs who, although small in number, are a powerful and well-knit group; to the Parsis; to the Anglo-Indians or Eurasians who are gradually drifting to nationalism; and to all other minorities.

What is the present position of the Congress on this vital question? The Nehru Report has lapsed, but surely the non-controversial parts of the report remain. The Fundamental Rights, as stated there, included religious, cultural, linguistic and educational freedom. This declaration must remain, and it removes at once the major fears of a minority. So far as other matters are concerned, minorities as such will hardly be affected, and the Lahore Congress has declared that in an Independent India such questions should be solved on strictly national lines. It has gone further. It has assured the Muslims, the Sikhs and other minorities that if any solution of any communal problem is proposed in future, it will not be accepted by the Congress unless it gives full satisfaction to the parties concerned. A more complete guarantee could not have been given, and if the Congress remains true to its word no minority need have the least fear.

Thus the Congress has endeavoured to give effect to the principles that should govern the treatment of minorities. If in the eyes of some it is still suspect, it is not because of what it has done but because of want of trust and unjustified fear. The Congress, I trust, will remain true to these principles and will demonstrate to the country that in communal matters it will not deviate to the right or the left and will hold the centre impartially. It will, I hope, prove to the minority communities that in Independent India, for which we strive, theirs will be an honoured and a favoured place. And by its sacrifices and its determined courage in the fight for freedom it will convince all of its *bona fides*.

Young India, 15-5-1930

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACTS FROM "THE DAILY TELEGRAPH" REPORT[1]

The prophet is no longer at large, and he is now safely interned at Yeravda, close to Poona, in the most comfortable prison in the presidency, writes Mr. Ashmead Bartlett, the special correspondent of *The Daily Telegraph* in its issue of 6th instant.

Gandhi will be charged with no specific offence as his followers have been: he will be interned under Ordinance 25 of 1827, without trial in Bombay.

This Ordinance is framed in such general terms that it enables the Government to intern almost anyone on any charge which can possibly be

[1] *Vide* p. 400.

construed as a menace to public order, or for stopping internal commotion. It was last employed in the year 1906 for the detention of the Natu brothers after the Rand murder.

The arrest itself was carried out with the utmost quietude at dead of night.

The Mahatma was fast asleep in his camp at Karadi, near Surat, when about 1 a.m. the District Police Superintendent with the District Magistrate and a score of armed police, entered his room. They turned a flash lamp on him and he awoke at once.

Gandhi took matters very coolly, and merely asked that the warrant be read to him, and that he be allowed to clean his teeth, which is with the Hindus an invariable religious rite on getting up.

Both requests were complied with, and shortly afterwards he was taken to a motor lorry, which, accompanied by police, was driven off to the railway station. There he and his guards entered a special saloon attached to the Ahmedabad-Bombay Express, *en route* for Borivli, whence he was to be taken by motor to the Yeravda prison.

On arrival at the jail he appeared to be in excellent health and spirits, and expressed gratitude for the manner in which his journey had been arranged.

It was generally known throughout Bombay yesterday that Gandhi's arrest was imminent, and in the afternoon details of the Government plan of operations were made known to foreign correspondents, but not a word was allowed to be cabled, a strict censorship having been in force for the past three days. . . .

The main object of the Government has been to put Gandhi safely under lock and key, before the news became known to the public, so as to avoid any demonstrations leading to riots and bloodshed in the course of his journey to Poona. The mere fact of handing in despatches to the cable office containing the news would at once have made known the Government's plans all over Bombay.

Gandhi's arrest was finally decided upon at the Council of State held in Simla a few days ago, and was originally planned for May 4, but the change was decided upon to avoid Sunday, and 1 a.m. on Monday (Indian time) was therefore named as the "zero hour" for his apprehension in Surat.

Mr. Hotson kindly informed me of his programme, which was to take Gandhi from the train at a small wayside station called Borivli, thirteen miles from Bombay, and from there to send him by car to Poona. . . .

The Hindu, 27-5-1930

A.I.C.C. FILES: Kept at Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

(*The*) *Amrita Bazar Patrika*: English newspaper of Calcutta; which first appeared in 1868 as a Bengali weekly; a daily since 1891.

Ashram Samachar (Gujarati): Handwritten bulletin brought out periodically from Sabarmati Ashram, Ahmedabad.

At the Feet of Bapu: Brijkrishna Chandiwala, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1954.

At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi: Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Bapuki Virat Vatsalata (Hindi): Kashinath Trivedi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1964.

Bapuna Patro–6: G. S. Gangabehnne (Gujarati): Ed. D. B. Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

Bapuna Patro–4: Manibehn Patelne (Gujarati): Ed. Manibehn Patel, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1957.

Bapuna Patro–7: Shri Chhaganlal Joshine (Gujarati): Ed. Chhaganlal Joshi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

Bapuna Patro–9: Shri Narandas Gandhine, Part I (Gujarati): Ed. Narandas Gandhi, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1964.

Bapuna Patro–5: Ku. Premabehn Kantakne (Gujarati): Ed. D. B. Kalelkar, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1960.

(*The*) *Bombay Chronicle*: English daily published from Bombay.

BOMBAY SECRET ABSTRACTS, 1930: Official records of the Government of Bombay.

(*A*) *Bunch of Old Letters*: Jawaharlal Nehru, Asia Publishing House, 1958.

GANDHI SMARAK SANGRAHALAYA, NEW DELHI: Central Museum and Library of Gandhian Literature and Documents, *vide* Vol. I, p. 349 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

Gujarati: Weekly published in Gujarati from Bombay.

(*The*) *Hindu*: English newspaper published from Madras, started as a weekly in 1878, became a tri-weekly in 1883 and a daily since 1889.

Indian Opinion (1903-61): Weekly journal; founded in Durban and later shifted to Phœnix; had English and Gujarati sections.

(*The*) *Leader*: English daily published from Allahabad.

Mahatma Gandhi: Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. III, Part III.

(THE) MANUSCRIPT OF MAHADEV DESAI'S DIARY: Kept in Swarajya Ashram, Bardoli.

(*The*) *Modern Review*: English monthly published from Calcutta.

Navajivan (1919-31): Gujarati weekly (with occasional bi-weekly issues) edited by Gandhiji and published from Ahmedabad; first issued on September 7, 1919. It was converted from *Navajivan ane Satya*, Gujarati monthly (1915-19). Also issued in Hindi from August 19, 1921.

NEHRU MEMORIAL MUSEUM AND LIBRARY, NEW DELHI

Prajabandhu: Gujarati weekly published from Ahmedabad.

Public Finance and Our Poverty: J. C. Kumarappa, Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

SABARMATI SANGRAHALAYA: Library and records containing documents relating to Gandhiji's South African period and Indian period up to 1933; *vide* Vol. I, p. 349 (August 1958 edition) and p. 341 (January 1969 edition).

Speeches & Writings of Mahatma Gandhi: G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

Young India (1918-31): English weekly founded by Jamnadas Dwarkadas at Bombay; from May 7, 1919, published bi-weekly under Gandhiji's supervision; from October 8, 1919, issued as a weekly from Ahmedabad with Gandhiji as editor.

CHRONOLOGY

March 1, 1930—June 30, 1930

March 1: Gandhiji was at Sabarmati.

March 2: Wrote to the Viceroy explaining his reasons for breaking salt law. Spoke at a wedding ceremony at the Ashram.

March 5: Speaking at prayer meeting told women not to accompany him on Dandi March.

March 7: Issued statement on Vallabhbhai Patel's arrest and appealed to the people to observe general strike.

March 8: Spoke at Ahmedabad meeting exhorting the people to remain peaceful and non-violent during the salt-law campaign.

March 10: Spoke at prayer meeting, Sabarmati and called for an unlimited supply of volunteers to keep the stream of civil resisters unbroken.

Before *March 11:* Sent message to Andhra.

On or before *March 11:* Gave interviews to H. D. Rajah and the *Manchester Guardian.*

Speaking at prayer meeting said "Either we shall win the goal for which we are marching or die in the attempt to win it."

March 11: At prayer meeting asked people to observe non-violence if he was arrested.

March 12: Accompanied by 78 volunteers, left Sabarmati at 6.30 a.m. for Dandi to break salt law and start civil disobedience campaign. At 8.30 a.m. gave parting message at Chandola. Spoke at Aslali.

March 13: Spoke at Bareja and Navagam.

March 14: Talked to Press representatives at Navagam. Spoke at Vasana.

March 15: Spoke at Dabhan and Nadiad.

March 16: Spoke at Boriavi.

On or after *March 16:* Spoke to satyagrahis.

March 17: Spoke at Anand. Talked to volunteers.

March 18: Addressed public meeting at Borsad.

March 19: Addressed public meeting at Ras.

March 20: Spoke at Kareli and Gajera.

March 21: Spoke at Ankhi.

March 22: Gave interview to Yusuf Meherally.

March 23: Spoke at Buva and Samni.

March 25: A.I.C.C. session held at Sabarmati authorized Gandhiji to initiate and control civil disobedience.
Gandhiji spoke at public meeting, Tralsa.

March 26: Spoke at Ankleshwar.
At Broach spoke on Hindu-Muslim Unity.

March 27: Sent message to Hindustani Seva Dal.
Spoke at Sajod and Mangarol.

March 28: Spoke at Raima and Umrachhi.
Spoke to volunteers.

March 29: Spoke at Bhatgam emphasizing the need for greater self-purification among volunteers and pilgrims of Dandi March.

March 30: Spoke at Sandhiyer and Delad.

April 1: Spoke at Chhaprabhatha and Surat.

April 2: Spoke at Dindoli.

April 3: Spoke at Vanjh, Navasari and Dhaman.

April 4: Spoke at Vijalpore.

April 5: Reached Dandi. Issued statement to Associated Press.
Sent message to America.
Addressed public meeting at Dandi and advised people not to eat salt supplied by Government.

April 6: At Dandi Gandhiji and his party broke salt law. Salt law was also broken at Ahmedabad, Surat, Broach, Kheda, Bombay and Delhi. At public meeting in the evening Gandhiji advised the people not to eat taxed salt any more.
Civil disobedience was offered throughout the country.

April 7: Gandhiji issued statement to the Press on the effects of civil disobedience movement.
Spoke to volunteers at Aat.
Sent messages to Kathiawar and Gujarat.

April 8: Spoke at Aat.
Halted at Surat on way to Bhimrad.

April 9: Dictated message to the nation on how the people should conduct themselves after his arrest.
Spoke at Bhimrad.

April 10: At Dandi. Sent message to Bombay Congress Committee and the people of Bombay.
At Jalalpur, spoke to volunteers.
Gave interviews to Associated Press of India and *The Hindu.*
At public meeting at Abrama, stressed the necessity of complete prohibition and promotion of khadi.

April 11: At Jalalpur in a statement to the Associated Press of India, expressed his intention to concentrate on Gujarat.

Before *April 12:* Sent message to Mrs. Hansa Mehta that Bombay women should take up the cause of preventing liquor consumption.

April 13: At Dandi. Spoke at Women's conference and stressed his faith in non-violence.
Spoke at public meeting.
Salt Satyagraha was started at 27 different centres in Bihar. Jawaharlal Nehru and several other Congress leaders were arrested and sentenced to imprisonment.

April 14: Gandhiji called upon students to leave schools and colleges.

April 15: Spoke at Umber.

April 17: At Jalalpur, gave interview to Free Press of India.
Spoke to the volunteers.

April 19: Spoke at Vejalpore and Bardoli.

April 20: At Jalalpur, gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle.*

April 21: At Navasari, gave interview to Associated Press on Chittagong disturbances.

April 22: At Surat, appealed to Headmen to take leading part in the constructive work.

April 24: At Karadi, gave interview to *The Hindu.*

April 25: Spoke at Pannar.

April 26: Spoke at Ambheti, Bulsar and Chharwada.

Before *April 27:* Sent message to America.

April 28: Gave interview to *The Bombay Chronicle.*

April 29: Spoke at Bilimora.
Gave interview to *The Leader.*

April 30: At Jalalpur. Issued statement on poisoning of salt-beds.
Congratulated Delhi journalists on their decision to stop

publication of newspapers and journals in protest against Press Ordinance.

May 1: Spoke at Olpad and Rander.

May 4: Drafted letter to the Viceroy.
Gave interview to J. B. Kripalani.
Spoke at Surat.

May 5: At Karadi. Was arrested at midnight and taken to Yeravda Prison in a bus.
Gave interview to *The Daily Telegraph* at Borivli on way to Poona.

May 12: Wrote his first letter to Ashram inmates from Yeravda.

May 18: Wrote letter to the Viceroy.

May 20: In interview to *Daily Herald,* conveyed his terms of settlement.

May 30: Informed Government he would not see his relatives if he was not allowed to see persons equally close to him.

June 30: Motilal Nehru, acting Congress President, was arrested at Allahabad.

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ERRATA

PAGE		FOR	READ
99	Para 2, line 4	he has	he has had
166	Footnote 1	send	sent
169	Para 3, line 4	And exercise is	And no exercise is
282	Item 278, title	*RAOJIBHAI M. PATEL*	*RAOJIBHAI N. PATEL*